

THE MILITANT

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Haitian tyrant falls to popular upsurge

BY WILL REISSNER

When Haiti's President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier boarded the U.S. Air Force C-141 that took him into exile February 7, the downfall of his government marked a tremendous victory for the nearly 6 million inhabitants of the Caribbean country.

While the U.S. government engineered Duvalier's flight from Haiti, his regime was toppled by the mass protests of Haitian youths, workers, and farmers.

The fall of the Duvalier dynasty was greeted with outpourings of joy in Haiti's cities and countryside and in communities of Haitian exiles abroad. (See stories on pages 7 and 17.)

But there was also anger that the dictator had not been brought to justice for his crimes against the Haitian people. "The world should hunt Duvalier down and execute him," a young man in Port-au-Prince said.

Duvalier is staying at a luxurious Alps resort as a guest of the French government, which was persuaded by Washington to accept Duvalier. The U.S.-supported dictator in the West African country of Liberia has offered him permanent asylum.

The Duvalier family plundered between \$200 million and \$500 million from Haiti, the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere.

After Duvalier's escape, the Haitian people struck at some of the hated symbols of the ousted dynasty. The marble tomb of François Duvalier, Jean-Claude's father, who ruled Haiti from 1957 until his death in 1971, was destroyed. Thongs sacked Duvalier family estates around the country. The homes and businesses of close associates of the regime were destroyed.

The estimated 15,000 Tontons Macoutes (bogeymen) — the common name for Duvalier's murderous paramilitary Volunteers for National Security — became another target of the people's outrage.

On the day Duvalier fled, about a dozen Tontons Macoutes were killed by angry crowds. In the affluent Port-au-Prince suburb of Pétionville, the homes of 25 Tontons Macoutes were attacked in the 24 hours after Duvalier departed.

The Tontons Macoutes, however, remained heavily armed and inflicted many casualties.

In some cases, army units came to defend the Tontons Macoutes.

On February 10, the ruling National Council announced that the Volunteers for

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Mass protests across Haiti, such as this one in Cap-Haitien, led to fall of 28-year-old Duvalier dictatorship.

Grenada: rally called to protest Reagan's visit

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA, Cuba — A rally for peace, independence, and freedom has been called for February 20 in St. George's, Grenada, to oppose the visit that day by U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

"All patriots and real democrats will be

Report on closing session of Cuban party congress, page 15.

in the streets to show what we think of Reagan's visit," George Louison told the *Militant*. Louison is a leader of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM), which is organizing the demonstration. He was in Havana to attend the Third Congress

of the Cuban Communist Party.

During a six-hour stopover in Grenada, Reagan will officially open the terminal building for the international airport, built under the popular revolutionary government headed by Maurice Bishop.

Bishop, who was murdered by opponents within his own party shortly before Reagan ordered the U.S. invasion of Grenada in October 1983, remains a popular hero and liberator to the masses of Grenadian people.

Reagan's trip to open the airport terminal is an insult to the Grenadian people, Louison noted. The international airport was one of the biggest economic development projects undertaken by the government that came to power in 1979 after the overthrow of the hated dictator Eric Gairy. As a statement released by the MBPM explained, "After 40 years of empty promises by all different governments, Grenada built an international airport under the PRG [People's Revolutionary Government] led by Maurice Bishop, with international cooperation from Cuba, Syria, Algeria, Venezuela, Libya, the European Economic Community, and many others. Prime Minister Bishop and the revolution gave the people their dream. The U.S. and Ronald Reagan refused to help and sabotaged every effort of the PRG to build the airport. 'Grenada does not even have an air force; it does not need an international airport,' Ronald Reagan said in March 1983. Now the same Ronald Reagan is coming to claim our airport as his own."

The MBPM statement also condemned the neocolonialist policies of the U.S. government throughout the Caribbean and Washington's support for the racist regime in South Africa.

"Reagan refused to impose sanctions on racist South Africa, but he is spending millions against Angola, Cuba, and Nicaragua.

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Support grows for S.F. antiwar action

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — A growing number of organizations, unions, and individuals are stepping forward to endorse and build the march and rally called for April 19 in San Francisco by the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice.

The action is called in support of the four demands: no U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean; end U.S. support for South African apartheid; jobs and justice, not war; and freeze and reverse the nuclear arms race.

"The issues that brought tens of thousands of people out into the streets nationally last April 20 are still with us and have intensified," said Al Lannon, president of Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union and a central leader of the Mobilization.

Lannon told the *Militant*, "There have

been 1,000 killed in South Africa. The bombing has intensified in El Salvador. Reagan is going for full military funding for the *contras* (the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary terrorists in Nicaragua).

"Labor remains under even worse attack as shown by the National Guard escorting scabs across the picket line at the Hormel plant in Minnesota.

"These issues and others," Lannon added, "continue to intensify. The only way that we can affect national policy is to do as we have in the past: to get thousands of people out into the streets demonstrating."

Demonstrations and mass actions played the key role in getting civil rights legislation passed, he explained. Mass actions "helped to end the war in Vietnam. And they have clearly contributed to there not being a direct U.S. invasion in Nicaragua

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Hormel rejects strike settlement

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

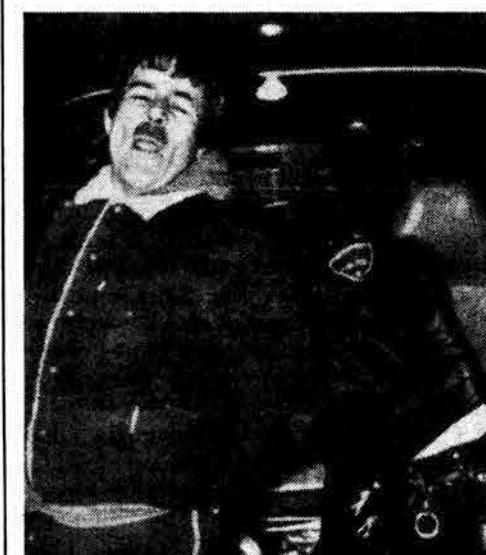
AUSTIN, Minn. — The George A. Hormel meatpacking company has rejected United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9's proposal to end the five-and-a-half-month-old strike here.

The leadership of the union local had offered to accept a contract similar to the one Hormel signed with workers at its Ottumwa, Iowa, plant.

The company is insisting on a contract that would gut the seniority and grievance systems, cut medical benefits, and institute a two-tier wage structure.

The company's February 11 rejection of the local's proposal was announced that evening at the union's daily strike-support meeting here. In making the announcement, Cathy Buck, a member of Local P-9's executive board, told strikers and their supporters that this meant that the local will have to continue its fight against Hormel.

Meanwhile, the courts have stepped up their attack on the embattled local. On February 10, Ray Rogers, a consultant to Local P-9, was arraigned on one count of criminal syndicalism. The felony charge carries a sentence of up to five years in prison and a \$5,000 fine. This is the most



Union consultant Rogers being arrested

serious legal attack on P-9 so far.

Rogers was arrested February 6 when 100 strikers and supporters, including this correspondent, gathered near Hormel's north gate. We were met by the National Guard, sheriffs, state troopers, and city cops. They had blocked off the public street and told us that only "authorized personnel" were allowed on the streets. "Authorized personnel" are scabs. They are identified by the Hormel sticker on the dashboard of their cars.

At 7:00 a.m., when all the scabs were in the plant, the cops allowed the entire group to line the side of the street near the gate, which we did peacefully. Then, saying we were in violation of a court injunction limiting picketing at the plant, the police demanded that we disperse and proceeded to arrest 26 P-9 members and supporters, including Rogers.

Twenty-five people were charged with obstructing the legal process. They were released on \$100 bond. Rogers, however, was singled out for the criminal syndicalism charge by County Attorney Fred Kraft.

Criminal syndicalism, according to state law, "is the doctrine which advocates crime, malicious damage or injury to the property of an employer, violence or other unlawful methods of terrorism as a means

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'Militant' gets truth to Hormel workers in Atlanta

BY ELIZABETH KILANOWSKI

ATLANTA — "Well it's about time you got here!" That was the response that the *Militant* headlined "Hormel strikers call for nationwide solidarity" received

front-page coverage of the Hormel strike, I decided to stop at the Hormel plant here. The response I received was inspiring.

Within 45 minutes, I sold 10 papers to workers leaving the day

SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

from one worker at the Hormel plant here.

I quickly explained that I wasn't from United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against Hormel in Austin, Minnesota. But I supported the strike and was at the plant with the *Militant* to help get out the truth about the strike to workers here.

When the *Militant* arrived with

shift and arriving for the night shift. Most of them expressed strong solidarity with their brothers and sisters in Minnesota. Workers at this plant had taken a wage cut of more than a dollar an hour a while back. Although it was recently restored, they feel Hormel will go after them again when their contract expires later this year.

Word spread in the plant that

someone outside had a paper about the strike. Three workers walked out and began to chant, "Vote P-9, vote P-9."

A few workers did not want to have anything to do with the strike or the *Militant*. A big percentage of the workers at the plant are unorganized. Those who are organized are in the UFCW.

One worker thought that P-9 should have waited until the contracts at the other Hormel plants came up to walk out. That way, he explained, the whole chain could have gone out together. He felt that union solidarity was the only way to win.

Hormel management also heard there was someone outside with information on the strike. I was not on company property so they couldn't do anything. But they did send five people out to watch me and try to intimidate me. The last

one went so far as to videotape me for about five minutes:

The next day, I returned with another *Militant* salesperson. This time — P-9 was there.

Two teams of strikers had arrived in campers after a 24-hour drive from Minnesota. The strikers were not asking for a sympathy walkout since so many of the workers were nonunion. They just wanted to get out the truth about the fight to the workers in the Atlanta plant.

The P-9ers had leafleted the early morning and afternoon shifts. They had a meeting place set up in a local shopping mall for people wanting more information.

One striker explained to me that they felt a lot of solidarity from Hormel workers across the country. "The takebacks all started with PATCO [the air traffic controllers' union busted by the U.S. government in 1981]. Labor

should have fought back right then. Maybe we wouldn't be in this mess now," he said.

They explained that we could request a striker from Austin to come and speak to our local unions and labor councils to help build labor solidarity across the country.

We sold 18 *Militants* that afternoon. One trucker hauling out of the plant stopped to discuss the strike. He gave me \$5 for the *Militant* and told me to keep the change.

The company had the local police out that day, watching P-9 and watching us.

The experience at the Hormel plant has inspired *Militant* supporters here to organize sales at other meatpacking plants to get out the truth about the Hormel strike. We will be sure to return to the Hormel plant here as *Militant* coverage of the strike continues.

Boat owners make 'final offer' to Mass. fishermen

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW BEDFORD, Mass. — On January 24 the Seafood Producers' Association, representing the 32 largest boats in the fishing fleet here, handed over a new, deeper concession contract "offer" to negotiators for 600 striking fishermen. The strike, forced on the members of the Seafarers' International Union, is entering its second month and is becoming increasingly bitter.

After having delivered what they called their "final offer," the boat owners walked out of the negotiations. They announced that they were going to do everything they could to get fishing going again on their own terms.

David Barnet, representing the owners, pointed to their concession demands and announced, "These conditions will be the conditions that the Seafood Producers will sail with, with or without a contract."

Howard Schulman, a lawyer negotiating for the fishermen's union, told the press, "I've been bargaining for 43 years. I've never seen bargaining like this. I call it contemptuous bargaining."

The take-it-or-leave-it offer would reduce the fishermen's percentage of the catch — their form of wages — even more than that previously demanded, to below a 50 percent share. It would dissolve the fishermen's pension and welfare plans, give the owners complete say-so over the length of the fishing trip and sailing time, and eliminate recognition of union shop stewards.

The union-busting offer would grant the captains the right to hire and fire at will, with no grievance system; eliminate union safety committees; and deny the union access to fish-weighing and to reading fuel gauges to ascertain real costs and catch size.

The contract also demands union ac-

quiescence to boat owners' use of their own private fish auction house. New Bedford law currently requires that all fish sales go through a city-managed auction house. The boat owners, along with the processors who buy the fish, have established and are attempting to carry out fish sales on their own private dock.

This arrangement eliminates union access to observe the sales in order to help guarantee that the fishermen are not being cheated. The new system also victimizes the small boat captains because the private sale managers are demanding a \$5,000 "entry fee" from anyone who wants to sell there.

In response to the owners' "final" offer and attempts to expand their private sale, Joseph Piva, union port agent, told the *Militant*, "They are definitely out to break the strike and the union. It's just like that situation out at Hormel in Minnesota. We've just got to tighten our picket lines and keep them going."

In an effort to get out the truth about their strike, the union has put out a flyer that compares their contract offer side-by-side with the owners' union-busting demands.

The strikers have found it virtually impossible to get their side of the story into the press. The local papers have refused to cover the real issues in the strike. The only stories that are run are crude attempts to violence-bait the fishermen.

On January 27 the press carried stories smearing the union by attempting to link two waterfront fires the night before with the union. The fires took place at the New Bedford Marine Electronics Co. and the Grub Locker Store and Warehouse. City

investigators labeled both fires "suspicious."

The Seafarers' union has categorically denied any involvement in the fires. New Bedford Mayor John Bullard attempted to blame the strikers anyway. He claimed to be able to explain the cause of the fires to the press, saying, "My impression is that reason gets overwhelmed by anger."

The next day, the city sent 24 cops to "guard" dock property and to try to intimidate the two dozen fishermen walking the picket line.

Meanwhile, the illegal private auction set up by the Seafood Processors' Association and the owners is continuing under police protection. Some fish is being sold. After the auction, the boat captains sail to the buyer's dock and unload. The small boat owners who have begun to deliver fish

to the big processors, like Parisi Seafood, are not deterred by city detectives who hand them \$50 tickets for violation of the city ordinance prohibiting illegal sales.

The contemptuous stance of the big boat owners, their efforts to widen their own fish auction, the antiunion press coverage, and the complicity of city officials and cops with the boat owners all point to the need for solidarity with the embattled fishermen.

The union has launched a food drive to aid the striking fishermen, who receive only \$10 in strike benefits for each day they picket. The union is asking that canned or dry goods, or checks to buy them made out to the Seafarers' International Union, be sent to SIU Fishermen's Committee, 50 Union St., New Bedford, Mass. 02741.

Pittsburgh rally protests racist system of voting

BY MARK WEDDELTON

PITTSBURGH — Despite the fact that 24 percent of this city's population is Black, an all-white city council took office January 6. Outside the swearing-in ceremonies, the Coalition for District Elections sponsored a rally to protest Pittsburgh's at-large system of voting that disenfranchises the Black community.

The call for switching to election of city council members by district instead of citywide is widely supported by Black activists. The coalition is backing state legislation for a referendum on the issue. The

Metropolitan Pittsburgh Crusade for Voters has filed a lawsuit against at-large elections to end what it calls "political white supremacy."

The Democratic Party apparatus, which dominates elections here, has opposed the switch.

The racist discrimination facing Blacks here is steadily worsening. Recent statistics released by the Urban League put Pittsburgh Black unemployment at 34.5 percent. This means that more than one out of three Blacks is denied the right to a job — more than double the rate six years ago.

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Filipino ruler gets U.S. nod after vote fraud

BY HARRY RING

Despite the massive fraud and violence by the regime of President Ferdinand Marcos, the Reagan administration decided, at least for now, that it would give queasy endorsement to the recent elections in the Philippines. It feared that to do otherwise might fuel the fire of rebellion among the Filipino people.

At his February 11 news conference, President Reagan said of the Philippine elections:

"I think that we're concerned about the violence that was evident there and the possibility of fraud, although it could have been that all of that was occurring on both sides.

"But at the same time, we're encouraged by the fact that it is evident that there is a two-party system in the Philippines."

Reagan also reiterated that maintaining the huge U.S. naval and air bases in the Philippines remains top U.S. priority.

On the very day Reagan spoke, Evelio Javier, an opponent of the 20-year Marcos regime, was chased through the town square of San Jose de Buenavista and shot dead by six gunmen.

Reagan's suggestion that the fraud and violence was occurring "on both sides" had been rebutted in advance by his chief observer at the elections, Sen. Richard Lugar. Talking to reporters in Manila before his return home, the Indiana Republican said there had been "massive fraud" in the elections.

Lugar added a rather obvious point. President Marcos, he noted, "has the power to do about what he wants to in this country," while his opponent, Corazon Aquino, does not have the power to organize widespread fraud.

But Lugar's impression of the elections was significantly modified when he got to the White House.

Speaking for Lugar and the observer team, Reagan said they had told him "there was the appearance of fraud, and yet, at the same time, said they didn't have any hard evidence beyond that general impression."

Reagan's version of the observers' findings was saluted in Manila.

Marcos' minister of information observed that "in effect, the president of the United States is giving some kind of moral support for President Marcos."

Arturo Pacificador, majority leader in the Philippine National Assembly, responded, "The president [Reagan], I think, has found out the true picture in this country. It will really bolster our image in other countries." With two-thirds of the assembly controlled by Marcos, Pacificador is guiding the process of having the assembly certify Marcos as the winner.

And, in San Jose de Buenavista, witnesses said that the killers who gunned down the oppositionist had escaped in a jeep belonging to Pacificador.

The Marcos vote-counter responded: "Let's see if they have proof."

Reagan is going to have a tough time selling this stink bomb. Too many people throughout the world have seen the TV reports of the violence and fraud. Reagan's stance is somewhat on a par with his declarations last year that the South African regime was in the process of eliminating apartheid and that the violence there was probably provoked by opponents of apartheid.

Senator Lugar's fast turnaround on the fraud and violence issue reflects the difficulties facing the Reagan administration, as well as apparent differences within it and within U.S. ruling-class circles on how to protect their interests.

The current move is to send Philip Habib, a White House envoy, to Manila to try to cook up a deal that might put a lid on things.

One trial balloon that has been floated is to install a Marcos-Laurel combination.

An old Marcos faithful who saw the handwriting on the wall, Salvador Laurel tried unsuccessfully to be the anti-Marcos presidential nominee. Failing that, he accepted second place on the Aquino ticket.

Some time ago, Washington made the decision that Marcos had to go. Not out of any concern for Philippine democracy, to be sure. Only because U.S. officials realized he could no longer pull it off. The mass opposition had become too powerful.

For Washington, this is the overriding concern. The U.S. government wants a transfer of power in the Philippines, but fears one that would open the door to a revolutionary explosion of the long and bitterly oppressed Filipino working people.

This is why Washington seems so reluctant to turn to Aquino as an alternative to Marcos.

Despite her genuine commitment to continued U.S. domination, as summed up in her refusal to support the popular demand for getting rid of the U.S. bases, Aquino is considered too chancy.

Washington fears an Aquino presidency could get out of hand. The huge outpourings at her campaign rallies made it evident that a great many Filipinos were drawn to her banner because they saw it as a means of trying to get rid of what growing numbers of them call the "U.S.-Marcos dictatorship."

Washington now shares with Marcos the common concern about the need to avert, or ride out, an outpouring of postelection popular rage.

Surely there is abundant fuel for such outrage.

On election day alone, 30 people were murdered.

Marcos thugs stole ballot boxes from the polls at gunpoint.

The vote-counting was so raw that 30 government workers, unable to stomach

what was happening, left their computers and took refuge in a Manila church where they assailed the wholesale fraud.



Armed Marcos thug threatens voters on Philippine election day. Despite absence of evidence, Reagan suggested there was fraud on both sides.

sion, also controlled by Marcos, which could "deliberate" for a year.

But none of the shenanigans in Manila, nor the crooked maneuverings by Washington, can change the fact that the days of the dictatorship are numbered.

For a long time, opposition has been building among Filipino peasants, workers, and layers of the middle class. The 1983 murder of oppositionist Benigno

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U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime bombs civilians

BY PAT GROGAN

The veil of secrecy is being lifted from the brutal bombing campaign against unarmed civilians by the Salvadoran military under the government of José Napoleón Duarte.

El Salvador's Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas issued a statement January 12 condemning what he called the indiscriminate bombing of civilians by the Salvadoran Air Force and the destruction of homes and crops in "zones of control" — areas held by the liberation fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Because the people in these areas support the FMLN, they have been fair game for murder by the Salvadoran armed forces.

The Salvadoran government, the United States embassy, and the Salvadoran Air Force have all denied that villages are being bombed.

However, the archbishop reported that he had witnessed the bombing himself during a visit to the town of Guarjila in the northern Chalatenango Department. This area is a stronghold of the FMLN.

In a broadcast January 6 over the rebel Radio Venceremos, Rivera y Damas said that as he was welcomed by more than 1,000 people of the town, Dragonfly A-37 planes bombed a nearby place, forcing them to take refuge. He said the bombs dropped not four miles away. This flatly contradicts a statement by the minister of defense that no bombs were dropped in the area.

The Salvadoran military also claims that there are no civilians in northern Chalatenango, treating the area as a free-fire zone occupied only by guerrilla fighters of the FMLN.

In his radio address, Rivera y Damas said he spoke at the request of hundreds of peasants who had asked him to counter this lie. "The greatest plea is that I advise that there is a large civilian population here," Rivera y Damas said. "It is not the case that there is not a civilian population here."

"The petition is clear," he continued, "that I make myself the voice of all and express to those who should hear that the bombings cease in areas inhabited by the civilian population." The archbishop deplored the massacre of civilians because of

their decision to live with and support the FMLN.

An alarm has also been sounded for the safety of nearly 1,000 civilians in Guazapa, 15 miles from the capital city of San Salvador, who have been surrounded by the military. Guazapa has long been under the control of the liberation forces. Referring to the civilians, a Salvadoran army major told Associated Press, "There are no good people left up there. The only ones still up there are the ones afraid to come down."

The scope of the bombing attacks against the Salvadoran people is being exposed. An estimated 3,000 unarmed Salvadorans have been killed in the attacks and tens of thousands forced to flee their homes.

The attacks include the use of white phosphorous and napalm. According to the Archdiocese of San Salvador, planes supplied by the United States bomb densely populated areas 30 times a month.

It is the U.S. government that supplies the bombs and planes, trains the pilots, and even picks the targets.

It was also the United States government that pushed hard to get the Salvadoran government to implement an austerity plan that has had a devastating effect on the already hard-pressed Salvadoran people. It is expected that the poor peasants will be especially hard hit.

The austerity plan, announced January 22 by Salvadoran President José Napoleón Duarte, includes a currency devaluation and an increase in taxes.

Gasoline prices increased about 50 percent and bus fares about 20 percent immediately.

As one trade union leader said, "Now we will not only die because of the war. They're also condemning us to die of hunger."

A few days before the announcement was made, some 8,000 people marched through San Salvador to protest the expected austerity measures. The FMLN cut power to 10 of the nation's 14 provinces in protest of the austerity plan. The FMLN has called on workers to take strike action and other protests against the austerity measures.

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Tour cost: \$950 from Miami

Tour price includes roundtrip airfare from Miami to Managua, all transfers and ground transportation, three meals daily, hotels, and translator and guide. A \$150 deposit reserves a space, with full payment due March 28. Space is limited to 20 people. Participants must have a passport valid for at least 6 months after the date of entry into Nicaragua.

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Telephone: (212) 929-3486

Ottumwa: 3,000 march for Hormel workers

BY SHEILA OSTROW
AND VIVIAN SAHNER

OTTUMWA, Iowa — Three thousand unionists, farmers, and community supporters held a spirited rally here February 9 to protest Hormel's union-busting.

The rally was in solidarity with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike in Austin, Minnesota, and UFCW Local 431 at the Hormel plant here.

The majority of Local 431's members have honored picket lines set up by P-9 here. On January 28, 458 workers were fired by Hormel. Since the first round of firings, 14 workers decided to honor the picket line and were fired. According to Local 431, only 175 workers are crossing the line.

The action by Hormel has become the central issue in Ottumwa. Support for the local union is widespread here.

In an attempt to turn this support around, Hormel is threatening to pull out of Ottumwa. As a result of this pressure, the city council denied a rally permit in downtown Ottumwa for Saturday's event. Supporters were forced to rally in a park.

Nevertheless, the first speaker at the rally was Jerry Parker, Ottumwa's mayor. "I've read your contract," Parker told the crowd, "and you have the right to not cross the picket lines."

In addition to threatening the city, Hormel has gone on a phone campaign to convince farmers that the company may no longer buy their hogs because of the "greedy workers."

Hormel's campaign made the impressive turnout of farmers at the rally even more significant. Dixon Terry, a leader of the Iowa Farm Unity Coalition, told the crowd, "We will not tolerate these divisive tactics to turn brother against sister, neighbor against one another." Dixon announced plans for a farm-labor demonstration in Des Moines on March 11. Iowa Farm Unity Coalition is calling on farmers not to sell hogs to Hormel.

In addition to activists from Iowa Farm Unity Coalition, representatives from Farm-Labor Alliance from Missouri and American Agriculture Movement from Iowa and Illinois also participated in the rally.

One of the most surprising messages of support came from Gregory Hormel, great-grandson of George Hormel. In a letter sent to the rally, Hormel wrote, "I want you to know that you [Local 431] and members of

Local P-9 have my utmost respect and support for your struggle. I believe strongly in organized labor. I am a member of a union myself. It is sad to me that the company that bears my family name is acting in this way. I do not support them in their tactics of hiring scabs and calling in the National Guard."

Rally participants gave an especially warm greeting to a contingent of Hormel workers from the Fremont, Nebraska, plant. Over 50 workers have been fired at that plant for honoring P-9's picket lines.

Three hundred P-9 members attended the rally to show their appreciation for the support given their struggle by Local 431. When Jim Anderson from the striking local gave the word from the podium, all 300 strikers took off their hats in a salute to the Ottumwa local.

Some 36 unions participated in the rally. Members of the United Auto Workers came from Marshalltown and Newton, Iowa. UAW members from the John Deere plant here also participated. Members of the United Steelworkers, United Rubber Workers, Teamsters, and Operating Engineers also attended.



Militant

Demonstrating their solidarity for striking meatpacking workers in Minnesota and terminated meatpackers in Iowa, unionists and farmers came to Ottumwa for Freedom March.

A leader of Local 431 thanked the unions for their support. He explained, "It's not just us against Hormel. It's a question of brotherhood in this state in a time of need. Too many corporations have been

taking advantage of hard times. And P-9 is taking up the fight that should have started a long time ago. We have to stand firm and hold hands and show the world that unionism is here to stay."

Hormel rejects strike settlement

Continued from front page
to accomplish industrial and political ends." (Emphasis added.)

Rogers has denounced this charge as a "witch-hunt" and "red-scare-type tactic." Speaking at the February 11 strike-support meeting, he explained that "the last time it [the criminal syndicalism charge] was used was in the 1920s" when it was employed "to jail union organizers in order to cut across a potential mass movement."

Local P-9 is facing a number of attacks by the courts. Hormel's attorneys are seeking to have Rogers jailed for an earlier contempt-of-court conviction. This conviction stems from alleged violations of a court injunction limiting strike activity at the plant. The union local and 19 individual union members, as well as Rogers and Ed Allen from the Corporate Campaign, Inc., also face a hearing to determine if their participation in January 31 and February 1 demonstrations that closed the plant violated this injunction.

In addition, the National Labor Rela-

tions Board has charged Local P-9 with 37 violations of labor laws. These charges also stem from various demonstrations at the plant.

Margaret Winter, a P-9 attorney, explained at a recent support meeting here that the growing number of court cases was not an accident. "The courts, the Guard, cops, and politicians," she said, "are not neutral. They're on the company's side. They want to make people afraid to exercise their legal rights."

The company and the government, however, have underestimated the fighting capacity of the members of P-9, a capacity that is fortified by the solidarity they have won from working people across the country.

Rank-and-file members fill the courtroom for every hearing.

Teams are dispatched to the State Capitol to keep pressure on the governor to withdraw the 600 National Guardsmen from Austin.

Hundreds of Local P-9 members are on

roving pickets at Hormel meatpacking plants in Ottumwa, Iowa, and Fremont, Nebraska. These pickets have succeeded in shutting down the plant in Ottumwa.

Roving pickets remain at the Fremont plant. Although this plant remains open, progress in winning support for the strike is being made. On February 6 over 600 Fremont workers came to a meeting to hear the issues in the strike.

Both Jim Guyette, Local P-9's president, and Louie Anderson, International vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers, spoke at the meeting. Anderson told the meeting that P-9 should accept the mediator's proposed contract, which the local has rejected two times. He argued against the strike because, he said, strikers could be permanently replaced under current laws.

Despite some hecklers, Guyette told the meeting that "the labor movement never has nor will it ever win something because the laws are legislated to let workers win. Anytime you are effective the laws are used against you."

Guyette has pledged that P-9, with the help from supporters in Ottumwa, will stay in Fremont to explain the strike to these workers and win them to this struggle.

Hormel restarted the hog kill operation at the Austin plant February 10. But only 350 hogs the first day and 800 the second day were slaughtered. This compares to the 6,000 hogs that are normally slaughtered during each eight-hour shift.

The local reports that it has received literally thousands of calls from people across the country in support of the February 15 national rally here to stop union-busting.

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Striking meatpackers win support in Seattle

BY KAREN RAY HORNER
AND CHRIS HORNER

SEATTLE — United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 has been sending roving pickets around the country to build solidarity with its strike. A team of these pickets was in the Puget Sound area recently.

While here, the strikers set up picket lines at a Hormel plant and spoke to officials and rank-and-file members from various local unions.

The strikers set up an informational picket line at the Hormel plant in Renton on January 28. Since UFCW International President William Wynn has refused to sanction P-9's roving pickets, the 70 members of the UFCW at the plant were instructed by local officials not to honor the picket line. To prevent the strikers from even talking with these union members, the company began the shift two hours early.

When the P-9 strikers and supporters from the area returned to the plant gate January 31, Hormel managers stood at the entrance in an attempt to intimidate any workers from talking to the pickets.

Besides setting up picket lines at Hormel, P-9 members spoke to about 40 members of International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 1002, which organizes the General Electric plant here.

At the meeting, John "Skinny" Weis from P-9's executive board introduced Harold "Bud" Miller, a member of the striking local, explaining that he likes "the rank and filers to do the talking because it is their union."

After hearing about the strike, Local 1002 unanimously voted to participate in

the "Adopt a P-9 Family" program. Through this program, union locals, labor bodies, and other organizations can contribute from \$100 to \$1,000 a month for three or more months to help a striking family. About 500 families have been adopted so far. The local also voted to send letters to Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich and to Hormel protesting the use of the National Guard as strikebreakers.

Later that evening, Miller and Weis spoke to 100 delegates at the King County Central Labor Council. They were introduced by council President Jim Bender. The delegates greeted the strikers with a standing ovation.

Miller told the council members that, contrary to press reports, the strike was "not over \$.69 per hour," but to defend the seniority and grievance system and to win on-the-job safety.

Since the labor movement in the Puget Sound area has experienced concessions and two-tier contracts, it has been watching the meatpackers' fight closely. Delegates applauded the embattled local for taking a stand. They were outraged at the calling in of the National Guard against this strike.

Bender pledged to send a letter to Governor Perpich and urged other unions to do the same.

Miller and Weis also spoke to about 150 members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District 751, Local A, on February 6. District 751 organizes the 25,000 production workers at the giant Boeing aerospace plants here. In their last contract these workers were forced to accept a two-tier wage system and other concessions.

'Good common sense to be in solidarity with workers'

Farmers answer antilabor propaganda

BY TOM JAAX

AUSTIN, Minn. — The solidarity that United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 has received from working farmers in its strike against Hormel has been an important source of strength in this class battle.

One expression of this solidarity was the January 22 tractorcade from St. Paul to Austin organized by farm activists in support of the strike.

In the days following the tractorcade, the big-business press attacked the action. It opened a propaganda campaign to convince working farmers that their interests are opposed to the interests of workers.

In articles and editorials, the big-business press across the state claimed that the Hormel strike hurt farmers by closing down an important market for hog producers.

Agri-News, for example, ran an editorial arguing that because of the strike, "farmers will now have to search for other markets . . . ship their livestock further, increasing costs."

While charging that the tractorcade "was wrong" and "intruded in the Hormel strike," the editorial called on farmers to scab. "Farmers need outside employment for income. Remember," it continued, "one man's dispute is another man's opportunity. That is what our country is based upon — free enterprise. . . ."

Newspapers throughout the state picked up an attack on the tractorcade by Merlyn Lokensgar, president of the Minnesota Farm Bureau. While the papers project the Farm Bureau as a farmers' group, it is more like a capitalist insurance enterprise than an organization of farmers.

Identifying totally with Hormel, Lokensgar said, "We cannot condone the attempt to shut down the plant that is vital to our agricultural industry." He asked, "Who will pay the cost of increased wages?" Never dreaming for a second of

cutting into Hormel's profits, he wrote, "The farmers who are already receiving low prices or the consumers who are paying high prices."

Lokensgar added, "The average union worker is already receiving higher pay than the average livestock producer."

Letters to the editor allegedly from working farmers echoing these themes appeared in newspapers across the state.

Groundswell, a farm activist organization, answered many of these attacks in a full-page article in its newsletter. The article begins by reminding farmers that many of their protest actions have been supported by labor unions, including UFCW Local P-9.

The article explains that wages don't really affect prices. "When their wages were cut drastically," the article states, "... none of the products the company sells went down."

These striking workers are facing attacks similar to the attacks on farmer activists. The article explained, "When we protest, they call in the police to protect the lender from us. We don't even carry a stick. . . . Did you notice that the demonstrators at Austin didn't have any weapons either?"

Farmers, the article states, don't want the strikers' jobs, but a fair price for their products so they can continue to farm.

Answering these attacks on the tractorcade, Paul Sobocinski, foreclosure chair of Groundswell, told the *Militant* that "it is a real tragedy to pit farmer against worker. The March for Justice rally at the State Capitol [January 21 farm protest in St. Paul] was asking justice for wages, too, not only justice for farmers. It was the union people who won the struggle for the minimum wage. They will help us win a fair price.

"People need to ask," Sobocinski continued, "what are Hormel's profits, their executives' salaries. . . ."

Jim Langman, past president of the



Militant/Peggy Winter

Jim Langman (far right, speaking) and other farm activists with P-9 strikers at meeting planning January 22 tractorcade. Farmer-labor solidarity has been attacked in big-business press.

American Agriculture Movement, who helped organize the tractorcade, told the *Militant* that the tractorcade was part of developing farmer-labor solidarity in the state, a process in which P-9 has played a role. "I had spoken in Austin in a rally last March [during P-9's educational campaign on Hormel's financial situation leading up to the strike in August of last year]. Later Jim Guyette had come to help prevent my foreclosure.

"We [workers and working farmers] are fighting huge corporations — five grain corporations and three corporations trading in hogs. It is just good common sense to be in solidarity with workers," Langman said.

Local P-9 issued a statement in Sep-

tember of last year appealing to farmers for support in their strike. The statement, signed by Business Agent Peter Winkels, explained, "Neither the farmer nor the worker can lose sight of who profits the most from the sweat of our labors. . . .

"If the family farm is to survive, if the family of the worker is to survive, we will have to work together, we will have to understand each other's needs and work together to protect them. We have a saying in labor — 'An injury to one is an injury to all.' We can no longer afford to see our friends and neighbors in the farm community forced off their land, just as we cannot accept the devastation caused by corporate greed."

Auto workers: 'Guard out!'

BY CLEVE ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — At a membership meeting February 2, Local 5960 of the United Auto Workers union (UAW), representing workers at GM Assembly plant, Lake Orion, near Pontiac, adopted a resolution in support of United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against Hormel in Minnesota.

"If unions don't hang together," the resolution explains, "we'll hang separately as in the case of PATCO [the air traffic controllers' union busted by the government in 1981]."

The resolution condemns "the strike-breaking role of the Minnesota National Guard" and demands their withdrawal from Austin. It directs the local "to support

efforts in the Metro Detroit area to rally labor on behalf of the Hormel strikers" and to publicize this resolution in the local newspapers.

Prior to seeking the backing of the local's leadership, 29 workers on the second shift in the parts department signed their names to the resolution to show their support.

After a good discussion at the union meeting, the resolution passed overwhelmingly.

Because of public attacks on Local P-9 by UFCW International President William Wynn, officials of the United Auto Workers International were pressuring local leaderships not to help the embattled local. Supporters of the resolution before, during, and after the meeting explained that we were not joining the internal fight provoked by Wynn in the UFCW, but were joining Local P-9 in the fight against Hormel and the National Guard.

Supporters of the resolution explained that we may find ourselves on strike. Then we will need their help and the help of other working people. So we should support them now. This made sense to a lot of workers in the plant since our local is facing company threats to combine jobs and get rid of 20 percent of the current workforce.

Supporters of the resolution had sought a \$500 donation right away and a monthly contribution of \$100 until the strike ends. The resolution's opponents, however, raised technicalities in the local's by-laws involving this money. Since these technicalities would delay action on the entire resolution for a month, supporters agreed to a smaller donation of \$150. The strikers obviously need active solidarity right away.

Auto workers' union at GM plant in Detroit backs Hormel strike

BY ED JOSEPHSON

DETROIT — United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 22, representing over 10,000 workers at GM's Cadillac Clark Street and Hamtramck Assembly plants, voted February 2 to support United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 in its battle against Hormel.

The local endorsed P-9's national consumer boycott of Hormel products. A list of these products will be published in the local's newspaper.

The union also adopted a P-9 family. At the meeting, \$400 was collected as an initial contribution.

The union voted to organize collections for the strikers in each plant.

Detroit unions organize rally for Minn. strikers

BY KIBWE DIARRA

DETROIT — A rally in solidarity with United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against Hormel in Minnesota has been called for March 1 here.

The rally was called at a meeting of some 30 trade union activists from the Detroit area. The meeting was initiated by James Coakley, president of United Auto Workers Local 1200, and Marsha Mickins, president of Bakers' Local 326. Both officials had just returned from a visit to Minnesota where they attended a P-9 solidarity rally.

Initial sponsors for the rally include UAW Local 596, which represents the workers at GM Truck and Bus plant in

Pontiac, UAW Local 1200 at the General Dynamics plant, and UAW Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge plant, as well as Bakers' Local 326. Other UAW locals, including locals 500, 594, 599, 160, 1658, and 207, are also sponsoring the meeting.

The rally will feature Tom Turner, president of the Metro Detroit Central Labor Council of the AFL-CIO; president of UFCW Local 26; and a representative of P-9.

The rally will be held at UAW Local 600's hall.

In addition to committees to help build the rally, the activists also formed committees to help organize Michigan workers to participate in the February 15 solidarity rally in Austin and to publicize the Hormel boycott.

Strikers urge boycott of Hormel

BY MAGGIE McCRAW

AUSTIN, Minn. — United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) Local P-9 on strike against Hormel launched a national consumer boycott of that company's products January 25. To kick off the campaign, P-9 sent out a 50,000-piece mailing urging unions across the country to support the boycott.

Here in Austin, the boycott is being promoted by P-9 retirees. They organize daily bannerizing and leafleting at area stores. A support committee called Concerned Citizens of Austin is visiting local grocery stores to urge store owners to remove Hormel products from their shelves.

In response to this campaign by the embattled local, the Austin Chamber of Commerce (an organization of business owners) is requesting retailers to continue to stock Hormel products. In a front-page story in the February 3 Austin *Daily Herald*, chamber President Robert Bue falsely charged that strikers and their supporters were threatening merchants.

In Ottumwa, Iowa, where hundreds of members of UFCW Local 431 were fired by Hormel for honoring P-9's roving pickets, rallies and other boycott activities have

been organized. Many local merchants there have not only taken Hormel products off their shelves, but have donated them to feed strikers.

The Metro Area P-9 Support Committee is beginning to organize boycott activities in the Twin Cities.

In addition to leafleting and petitioning stores to remove Hormel products from their shelves, an effort is under way to get Hormel products removed from workplace vending machines.

Local 780 of the International Association of Machinists, which organizes workers at Republic Airlines in the Twin Cities, has already successfully had all such products removed from the workplace.

Hormel's products include: SPAM, Dinty Moore Stews, Mary Kitchen Roast Beef and Corned Beef Hash, Cure 81 Hams, Curemaster Hams, Black Label Bacon and Ham, DiLusso Genoa Salami, Fast 'N Easy Bacon, Little Sizzlers Sausage, Wranglers Franks and Bacon, Light and Lean Canadian Bacon and Ham, Super Select Pork, Rosa Pepperoni, Great Beginnings Products, Range Brand Bacon, Old Smokehouse Barbecue Sauce, Frank 'N Stuff Franks, and Broiled and Browned Sausage.

Why Haitians revolted against Duvalier

Vast poverty of people contrasted with obscene wealth of dictatorship

The following article is taken from the February 17 issue of *Perspectiva Mundial*, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. The translation is by Intercontinental Press.

BY SELVA NEBBIA

Why did the people of Haiti rebel against the regime of Jean-Claude Duvalier?

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere and one of the poorest in the world. Per capita income stands at \$270 per year. Three out of every four Haitians live below the official poverty level of \$150 per year.

Some 80 percent of the population is illiterate. According to World Health Organization figures, 73 percent of the children and 50 percent of the adults suffer from malnutrition. The infant mortality rate is 130 per 1,000 live births. (In the United States the rate is less than 15.) Life expectancy is only 45 years.

These chilling figures illustrate the abject poverty in which the 6 million Blacks who inhabit this small Caribbean country live.

Duvalier: a royal lifestyle

But not everyone lives in poverty in Haiti. "President for Life" Jean-Claude Duvalier and his wife, Michele, lived like royalty in a sumptuous palace. Their wedding cost more than \$2 million. Michele Duvalier enjoys frequent shopping trips to France.

In addition to their palace, the Duvaliers owned a ranch, two country houses, and a chalet in the mountains.

They were part of the oligarchy, the 1 percent of the population that — according to the World Bank — receives more than 40 percent of the country's income.

For the past 28 years the country lived under the dictatorship of the Duvalier family. Jean-Claude Duvalier, who has now fled the country, known as "Baby Doc," inherited power from his father, François Duvalier, or "Papa Doc," who became president in 1957 and proclaimed himself "president for life" seven years later. Before his death in 1971, François Duvalier named his son as his successor.

For the past three decades the Duvalier dynasty received the support of Democratic and Republican administrations in Washington.

The succession from Papa Doc to Baby Doc was overseen by the U.S. ambassador in Haiti, Clinton Knox, a good friend of the elder tyrant.

To insure a smooth transition, Knox officially requested that the U.S. State Department dispatch warships to Haiti's territorial waters to prevent infiltration by exiled opponents of the regime who could

"disturb" the country's peace.

Washington provided Jean-Claude Duvalier with technical advisers to train his army and repressive forces. It also sent arms, patrol boats, and helicopters to strengthen the regime's military apparatus.

Abundant U.S. aid to regime

The U.S. government provided the dictatorship with abundant economic aid. François Duvalier's regime received \$100 million in its first six years alone. His son received some \$50 million annually, with which he not only built up his power, but also increased his enormous private fortune.

The Duvalier dynasty remained in power by keeping the population in a state of terror. The Haitian people lacked the most basic democratic rights. There was no right to union organization. Political parties, which were illegal under Papa Doc, could exist under Baby Doc only if they come out in favor of Jean-Claude Duvalier's lifetime presidency and his right to choose his successor.

Torture, arbitrary arrests, political assas-

sinations, and disappearances were commonly practiced by the regime.

The dictatorship maintained strict control over the mass media and persecuted anyone who dared to make the slightest criticism.

Although the regime orchestrated legislative elections in 1979 and 1984 and carried out the first municipal elections in 25 years in 1983, it did not permit the election of any opposition candidates, with the exception of a single deputy in 1979.

A few months before the February 1984 elections, Sylvio Claude, president of the Christian Democratic Party, was jailed along with other opponents of the regime and possible candidates. Others were forced into exile.

Claude stated that he was beaten and tortured while in jail.

Nevertheless, on Jan. 30, 1985, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz told the U.S. Congress that the Duvalier government "is making a concerted and significant effort to improve the human rights situation in Haiti, by implementing the political reforms which are essential to the de-

velopment of democracy in Haiti."

Shultz added that these elections represented "continued progress" toward the "eventual goal of democratization."

Tontons Macoutes

In order to maintain its iron grip, the regime relied not only on the official army and the police. It also used a paramilitary army called the Volunteers for National Security (VSN). Better known as the Tontons Macoutes, this paramilitary force has sown terror among Haitian working people in the countryside and in the cities.

It is estimated that the Tontons Macoutes has 15,000 members. The terrorist force was organized by François Duvalier with the help of U.S. military advisers.

The Tontons Macoutes operated as a virtual occupation army. Each zone, each neighborhood, had its Tontons Macoutes. Together with the police, they have functioned as torturers and goons. In addition, they practiced extortion and used their

Haitian masses bring down dictator

Continued from front page

National Security had been dissolved. This victory set off another wave of celebration.

During church services February 9, Archbishop François Ligonde of Port-au-Prince urged the people to forgive Duvalier's thugs.

But one young woman told a foreign journalist that this was no time to forgive the Tontons Macoutes. "We're not crazy; we know what we are doing. God will understand," she stated.

By striking at the Tontons Macoutes today, the Haitian people want to make it impossible for these killers to regroup and reorganize under a different name.

The upsurge that toppled Duvalier began in Gonaïves, where thousands of unemployed youths took to the streets November 27 and 28 shouting, "Down with Duvalier."

Police killed three demonstrators, which sparked new protests in Gonaïves and other cities. The upsurge became known as the "youth revolt."

Duvalier attempted to stem the protests by closing the schools and shutting down radio stations that reported demonstrations. But the protests spread. The Tontons Macoutes proved increasingly unable to crush the protests, and people lost their fear of them.

On January 29, 40,000 people in Cap-

Haïtien — the country's second-largest city, with a population of 75,000 — gathered for an all-day demonstration demanding Duvalier's resignation. On January 31 the dictator imposed a state of siege, and protests spread to the capital city of Port-au-Prince.

The Tontons Macoutes killed scores of people in Port-au-Prince while attempting to crush these protests. Church officials denounced the repression. Businesses heeded calls to close in protest of Duvalier's rule. Leaflets circulated calling for a February 12 general strike.

The Duvalier regime was finished. The U.S. government, which began taking its distance from Duvalier in late 1985 after supporting him since he came to office in 1971, refused on January 30 to certify that the regime was making progress in ending human rights violations. This froze \$26 million in U.S. aid to Duvalier.

Washington's wishes were signalled January 31 when presidential spokesman Larry Speakes prematurely announced that Duvalier had left Haiti.

One week after imposing the state of siege, Duvalier met with U.S. Ambassador Clayton McManaway and agreed to leave. He asked Washington to provide transportation for himself and his family out of Haiti, which was done.

The CBS television network reported

that the Pentagon has drawn up plans for a possible landing of U.S. troops in Haiti if the new government is unable to put a lid on the popular upsurge.

The present six-member National Council of Government was selected by Duvalier eight hours before he went into exile.

Once Duvalier had made arrangements to depart, reported Edward Cody in the February 10 *Washington Post*, he "sat down at a desk and, with a pen, began a list of those he wanted on the ruling council that would follow him.

"Lt. Gen. Henri Namphy, then chief of staff and now council president, was first on the list ... and second was Col. William Regala, then armed forces inspector general and now minister of interior and national defense."

After that, reported Cody, Duvalier "scratched on three more names: Col. Max Valles [head of the presidential guard], Gérard Gourgue, and Alix Cinéas [a former member of Duvalier's cabinet]."

Finally, Duvalier added Col. Prosper Avril, an ally of Duvalier's wife's family.

Only Gérard Gourgue, a founder of the Haitian League of Human Rights, was not intimately connected with the deposed dynasty.

The first order of business for Namphy after his appointment by Duvalier to head the council was "organizing Duvalier's escape from the presidential palace to the airport."

The six-man council then appointed a cabinet loaded with old-line Duvalier supporters. Some hold the same positions they held under the dictator.

The new government was slow to open the international airport to regular traffic, fearing the return of many Haitians exiled in other countries. The U.S. government, wrote *Wall Street Journal* reporter Robert Greenberger February 10, is worried that some Haitian exiles in this country have been "radicalized."

Despite its links to Duvalier, the new government has had to make concessions to the masses. Besides abolishing the Tontons Macoutes, it freed several dozen political prisoners and has promised to institute democratic rights.

On February 10 General Namphy pledged "to work for the blooming of real and functional democracy founded on absolute respect for human rights, press freedom, the existence of free labor unions, and the functioning of structured political parties."

The working people did not wait for Namphy's declaration to begin claiming some of these rights. Formerly clandestine trade union organizers are surfacing. The February 9 *Miami Herald* reported that the until now underground Independent Haitian Workers' League is beginning to function openly.

'IP': Behind the South Yemen bloodbath

After nearly two weeks of fierce fighting in South Yemen, the armed conflict between leadership factions in that Middle Eastern country has ended for the time being. Supporters of ousted President Ali Nasser Mohammed have been defeated, and a new administration has been installed. The fighting has left deep wounds, with thousands killed.

The February 24 *Intercontinental Press* features an analysis of this disastrous conflict by editor Doug Jenness.

Neither side in the governing Yemeni Socialist Party (YSP) leadership clearly expressed its political views, Jenness observes, leaving the working masses in the dark about what policy differences were involved.

"The leadership of the YSP has been composed of factional cliques, which place their clique interests above those of the party and Yemen's workers and peasants," he writes.

Jenness also examines several parallel examples of conflicts in

parties that have come to power as a result of revolutions: the disputes in Afghanistan's governing party, the 1983 overthrow of Grenada's workers' and farmers' government by a factional clique, and the unsuccessful efforts in the 1960s by a grouping in Cuba organized by Aníbal Escalante to try to undermine the leadership around Fidel Castro.

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What Was Behind the South Yemen Bloodbath?

power to enrich themselves.

According to a 1982 report submitted by a human rights committee to the Organization of American States:

"In Port-au-Prince [the capital city] the security forces extort excessive taxes from small merchants and seize their merchandise. Haitians interviewed report that *macoutes* sometimes simply enter stores and take what they want while refusing to pay."

"In the countryside, where 80 percent of Haiti's population resides, security forces extort cash or crops and seize land with virtual impunity. . . . Resistance to demands of the security forces . . . will only bring greater difficulties and arbitrary punishment."

Large U.S. interests

The Duvalier dictatorship also protected the interests of the capitalist rulers of the United States. Washington has big political as well as economic interests in Haiti.

Its location in the Caribbean basin and its close proximity to Cuba make Haiti strategically important to Washington.

The aim of U.S. policy in the Caribbean, especially since the victory of the Cuban revolution and later the Nicaraguan revolution and other revolutionary events in the region, has been to prevent the rise of any movement of the oppressed peoples.

In addition, Haiti has been turned into a paradise for U.S. investors. With an unemployment rate conservatively estimated at 50 percent of the work force, a minimum wage of \$3 per day, a terrorized working class that has no unions or laws to protect it and no right to strike, and no limit on the work day or requirement for overtime pay, the atmosphere is very conducive to extracting high profits.

In recent years more than 250 U.S. companies have set up shop in Haiti. In addition to the low wages, they enjoy extensive tax exemptions and favorable terms for the export of their products to the U.S. market.

The majority of the U.S. companies are garment and toy manufacturers. Thousands of stuffed animals are shipped from Haiti to the United States each month.

In addition, nearly all the baseballs used in the United States come from Haiti, where they are hand-sewn by women who must produce at least 24 balls per day to earn their \$3 daily wage. Among the sporting goods companies functioning in Haiti are MacGregor Athletic Co. and Rawlings Sporting Goods. On the U.S. market, Rawlings baseballs sell for more than \$5 apiece.

Other U.S. companies attracted by the superexploitation of the Haitian workers are Gulf + Western, which has a factory that produces blue jeans, and electronics companies such as GTE Sylvania.

Crisis in countryside

Nevertheless, Haiti remains basically an agricultural country. More than 75 percent of its population resides in rural areas. The majority of the rural population lacks land. It is estimated that 66 percent of the arable land is in the hands of big landlords, who represent less than 2 percent of the total population.

The cultivation of coffee, Haiti's main export product, for example, is controlled by 25 families. Out of these, 5 families control half the production.

Small peasants with their own plots are relegated to the worst land, without the resources or implements to produce enough to survive. Thousands of peasants have been displaced from the countryside and forced into the shantytowns of the cities.

More than 20,000 Haitians take part in an annual seasonal migration to the neighboring Dominican Republic. There they work under conditions of near slavery, from 4:30 in the morning until 6:00 at night, for starvation wages.

The Haitian cane cutters in the Dominican Republic are subjected to subhuman conditions in labor camps where they are virtual prisoners of the employers until the end of the harvest, at which point they are forced to return to their country.

This arrangement is the result of a contract between the Haitian and Dominican governments. The Duvalier regime was paid a fee for each laborer sent to the



Baby Doc and wife Michele, whose wedding alone cost over \$2 million, sapped wealth of whole nation while three-quarters of Haitians existed on less than \$150 per year. At left, shantytown in Haiti's third largest city.

Dominican sugar harvest.

The Dominican government has also allowed the Tontons Macoutes to operate freely on its territory against Haitians. The chairman of the Dominican Committee for the Defense of Human Rights recently charged that 1,500 Tontons Macoutes were present in the Dominican Republic.

Thousands of Haitians have also risked their lives crossing the Caribbean Sea in small boats in hopes of making it to the United States, to escape the economic exploitation and political repression in their country.

The U.S. government, through the U.S. Coast Guard and Immigration and Naturalization Service, has subjected thousands of Haitians who reached the United States to inhumane treatment in detention camps.

Although many have been forced to return to Haiti, it is estimated that in the state of Florida alone there are some 60,000 Haitian refugees. There they have to take

the worst jobs and suffer racial discrimination.

Despite this, many families in Haiti depend for their survival on the money sent by family members working in the United States.

The U.S. government's refusal to grant these refugees the status of political exiles, which would permit them to remain in the United States legally, was another aspect of Washington's political support to the Duvalier dictatorship.

One of the reasons given by the U.S. government in 1984 to justify its granting of continued economic aid to Haiti, despite the lack of democratic rights there, was that "the government of Haiti is providing full cooperation to the United States on halting illegal emigration."

Squeezed by IMF

Like the rest of the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean, Haiti is in debt to the big imperialist banks, especially U.S. banks.

When Haiti was unable to continue meeting its debt payments in 1984, the International Monetary Fund insisted that Duvalier impose an austerity program.

According to the then-minister of the economy, Frantz Mercier, the government had already reduced its expenditures by more than 25 percent in the two previous years.

In 1984 a U.S. government official stated that the Haitian government had previously made "impressive fiscal progress," but that following the hunger protests in May and June of that year, it had "over-reacted" and spent too much money on rice and sugar, exceeding the limits decreed by the IMF.

In contrast to the image presented by the U.S. mass media, the people of Haiti are not servile and docile by nature. They have a rich history of struggle that goes back more than two centuries.

Haiti was the first Latin American republic, winning its independence from France in 1804. The struggle to abolish slavery, led by ex-slave Toussaint L'Overture, was the only successful slave revolt in history and grew into the revolution that led to the formation of the first republic in a predominantly Black country in the world.

Between 1915 and 1934 struggles took place against the U.S. military occupation of Haiti.

And during the 28 years of Duvalier-family rule many protests took place despite the detentions, murders, exile, torture, and terror against the people.

In the 1960s a wave of strikes by workers and students, partially inspired by the Cuban revolution, was brutally repressed.

The tight control that the Duvalier government exercised over the mass media did not prevent the spread of important protests against hunger and poverty in recent years, especially in rural areas.

These same conditions of hunger and terror have given rise to the present rebellion of the Haitian people, which has brought down the Duvalier dictatorship.

Haitians in exile cheer downfall In New York

BY JANE HARRIS

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — Fifteen thousand Haitians and their supporters sang, danced, and marched down Eastern Parkway February 8 in jubilation that former "President for Life" Jean-Claude Duvalier had fled Haiti. The march, sponsored by the Committee Against Repression in Haiti, was the biggest demonstration by Haitians in the history of the city.

While one man in his 40s told the *Militant* when asked what he thought of the recent events inside his country, "I'm too happy, and I'm too crazy to talk to you right now," a series of interviews revealed both caution about how much has so far been won and fury at Washington's role in the shake-up.

As Che Baraka, a house painter in his 30s, put it, "I think the Americans have their plans. You have to wait and see. You must not be naive. The Americans dispose of Duvalier but they support him at the same time. I would like to see my people choose their own destiny. We're not a step-child of the United States."

"We have to bring to justice those who killed our people," Denise Felix, a 28-year-old student of marketing at Baruch College, stated flatly. "The United States has betrayed the Haitian people by taking Duvalier away. He must be executed by the people."

Felix, who says, "I will return to Haiti to educate my own people after graduation," concluded by saying, "Duvalier now, Botha next!"

Mica Durand, a student of International Studies, says that Duvalier's exit is "one step ahead," but points out that "the junta is

still part of the Duvalier regime." She says she hopes a group of people will govern who are concerned about the health and education of the Haitian people — "not just one man." "We are a very intellectual people when given the opportunity to be educated," she added proudly.

Most participants carried blue and red flags, the ones that the Duvaliers disposed of when they came to power. Many placards read, "We can and we will choose our own leader." Others said, "We don't want or need Marines in Haiti," "No to foreign domination in Haiti," and "Free all political prisoners."

Nicholas Georges, a taxi driver, spoke for many here. He said, "I feel very glad,

but change will take a long time."

Socialist Workers Party members and supporters sold more than 100 copies of the *Militant* and \$340 worth of revolutionary books and pamphlets, two-thirds of which were in French.

Montreal

MONTREAL — Thousands of Haitians in Montreal celebrated the downfall of Jean-Claude Duvalier.

A spirited parade of 1,500 people, followed by a car parade led by Haitian taxi

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Some of 15,000 Haitians who marched through Brooklyn, New York, February 8.

BUILD THE MARCH 9 AND 16 ABORTION RIGHTS ACTIONS!

The National Organization for Women has called two abortion rights actions — in Washington, D.C., for March 9, and in Los Angeles for March 16. The theme of the actions is a "National March for Women's Lives" to keep abortion and birth control safe and legal.

NOW is involving a broad range of women's rights, Black, Latino, student, and labor organizations in building the marches.

For information on the Washington march, contact National March for Women's Lives, 1401 New York Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20005; telephone (202) 347-2279. For information on the Los Angeles march, 1242 S. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90035; telephone (213) 652-5576.

Labor union women build contingent

The Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) is organizing a contingent in the March 9 abortion rights action in Washington, D.C.

In a letter to the members of the National Executive Board and supporters of the organization, CLUW President Joyce Miller wrote, "I invite as many of you who are able, along with your family and friends, to join with the CLUW delegation on March 9, in Washington, in this historic

march.

"The purpose of the march is to show that the majority of Americans believe in and want to preserve a woman's fundamental right to make private and confidential decisions regarding reproduction, including the freedom to choose, or not to choose, abortion," Miller's letter continued.

The CLUW delegation will begin assembling at 9:00 a.m. on the Mall, off the Smithsonian metro (subway) exits.

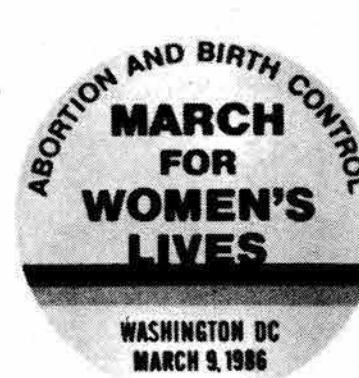
For information about CLUW's participation, write or call: CLUW Center for Education and Research, 2000 P St., NW, Suite 615, Washington, D.C. 20036. Telephone (202) 296-3409.

California campus groups organize

BY JEAN SAVAGE

LOS ANGELES — Across the country, campus women are responding enthusiastically to the call for the National March for Women's Lives: East Coast/West Coast.

National endorsements have been received from the Yale Women's Center, Bryn Mawr College Students, Carnegie-Mellon University Students for Choice, College Democrats, the National Student Action Center, Students for Economic Democracy, the American Association of University Women, and the U.S. Student Association.



In the Los Angeles area, the National March for Women's Lives' staff has focused on setting up meetings on each of the major college campuses by phoning women's organizations, student governments, faculty, women's studies departments, and campus anti-apartheid and other groups.

Kathy Spillar, West Coast coordinator for the march, has spoken at a number of these meetings, and organizing material has been distributed.

The first organizing meeting at California State University at Northridge was attended by 65 students. Plans were made for campus delegations, chartering of buses, getting publicity in the campus newspaper, setting up tables, leafleting, selling buttons, and reaching out to other campus organizations.

The University of California at Los Angeles organizing meeting

was attended by 40 people.

Representatives from student, faculty, and administration women's groups were among the 25 people who attended the meeting at the University of Southern California.

Meetings are being organized at Cal State-Long Beach and at the U.C. Santa Barbara campus.

National Women's History week will be celebrated March 2-9. Campus march organizers are urged to contact Women's Studies Centers and history departments about planning events that will encourage march participation.

Abortion rights supporters rally in Kansas City

BY MICHELE FIELDS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — The turnout and broad support for a January 22 abortion rights rally here bodes well for Kansas City participation in the March 9 demonstration.

Organizations that endorsed the rally include the National Abortion Rights Action League, National Organization for Women, American Federation of Government Employees, CLUW, Planned Parenthood, Socialist Workers Party, American Civil Liberties Union, and the YWCA.

Other groups that set up literature tables or participated in building the event were the National

Black Independent Political Party, Kansas City Black United Front, and the Committee for Choice. Among the 150 people at the rally were members of United Auto Workers locals 93 and 41 and young antiwar activists.

One of the most important aspects of this event was that this was the first time that a prochoice action was held in Kansas City without disruption from the right-wing opponents of abortion rights.

Given the past instances of disruption, a committee of monitors from the coalition that sponsored the rally was chosen to make sure that the known right-wing fanatics be kept out of the meeting. The coalition also demanded and succeeded in getting police and a security guard at the door.

Charleston, W.Va. abortion rights vigil held

Urging supporters of abortion rights to organize, the Rev. James Williams told a January 21 vigil in Charleston, "We need power to resist those who would make abortion murder and make a woman's choice a crime, those whose scare tactics and bombs threaten women's lives."

The rally was also addressed by Martha Sanders of the National Organization for Women, who condemned as discriminatory the attempts to eliminate Medicaid funding for abortion.

Texas educational conference builds March 9 action

BY NANCY COLE

HOUSTON — "Reproductive freedom: your right!" headlined a day of workshops on abortion and birth control here January 18 to mark the anniversary of the 1973 Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

The workshops were sponsored by the March 9 March Organizing Committee, a coalition building participation in the national demonstration in support of reproductive rights. Initiated here by the National Organization for Women, several chapters of NOW participated, as well as the Texas Abortion Rights Action League (TARAL), the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), and others.

More than 60 people attended the workshops from some 20 organizations, ranging from the Girls Club to the American College of Nurse Midwives. Participants were also members of a number of labor unions, including the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union; Communications Workers of America; American Federation of Government Employees; and the Brewery and Soft Drink Workers.

The workshops were followed on January 22 by TARAL's annual Dinner for Choice attended by more than 100 people. The featured speaker was Houston City Councilwoman Eleanor Tinsley, who has come under sharp attack from the antiabortion forces for her request to the police to enforce the city's noise ordinance at clinics performing abortions. Every Saturday morning, so-called right-to-lifers viciously and loudly harass women entering the downtown Planned Parenthood Clinic. More than 100 women and men have volunteered to serve as escorts at this and any other clinics that fall victim to this harassment.

Texas has been the site of more terrorist bombings of abortion clinics than any other state during the last three years, with six of them having occurred in Houston. No arrests have ever been made.

Texas also figures prominently in the history of abortion rights. The *Roe vs. Wade* case — which resulted in the landmark 1973 high court decision — was brought by a Dallas woman who was denied a legal abortion after a gang rape. She was forced to carry her pregnancy to term.

Unfortunately, Texas was also the home of the first woman to die of a botched, illegal abortion after the Hyde Amendment went into effect denying Medicaid funding

for poor women's abortions. A young mother of two struggling to get a college degree, Rosie Jimenez died in 1977 with a check for \$700 in her pocket. She had vowed not to use it for anything but her tuition because that was her and her children's future.

TARAL Vice-president Colleen Ellmore summarized the long history of abortion in a closing presentation at the January 18 workshop. She pointed out that the laws against abortion are relatively recent — dating from the mid- and late-1860s.

This situation continued until the mid-20th century when women began speaking out and "marching in the streets for their own bodily integrity," Ellmore said.

The 1973 decision did not create the demand for abortion, Ellmore said. But it made it possible for women to have safe and legal abortions. In 1969 there were

6,500 women treated for complications from illegal abortions in New York City alone — 80 percent of them women of the oppressed minorities. In the first year after the 1973 court decision, the mortality rate dropped by close to 40 percent. Abortion now shares the same medical risk as a penicillin shot.

Not all women have the same choices, Ellmore explained. The 1977 Hyde Amendment barring abortion for Medicaid recipients was followed by laws and regulations restricting abortions for Peace Corps volunteers, military personnel and their dependents, federal employees, and Native Americans using Indian health services.

The March 9 March Organizing Committee printed a leaflet on the workshops in Spanish and distributed it at clinics and community centers.

In a workshop on abortion, sex education, and teen parenting at the January 18 conference, Planned Parenthood representatives explained that the Houston Independent School District has no policy on sex education. What this means is that most teens in Houston receive no schooling on sexuality or on their right to information and access to abortion and contraception.

Texas ranks third in the nation for frequency of pregnancy among girls 14 and younger.

Ann Hubbard, a coal miner from Harlan County, Kentucky, was a special guest at the conference. Hubbard represented the Coal Employment Project in a workshop explaining the issues involved in the United Mine Workers campaign to win a contract clause granting women and men parental leave for the birth, adoption, or serious illness of their children.

Black women organize for abortion rights

Continued from back page

Loretta Ross, director of NOW's Women of Color Project, talked about the attacks from the right wing. "They claim not to be racist and sexist, but the legislation they support, like the Hyde Amendment, objectively hurts us," she said. "We won't go back to unsafe abortions that kill teenagers in back alleys. We must not compromise what we want: the right to decide when and if to have a baby. We won't be breeders of cheap labor for America," Ross said to loud applause.

There were many young women at the forum, and one of the conference's three panel discussions focused on the problems of teenage pregnancy. A growing percentage of Black women under the age of 18 are bearing children, accounting for 28 percent of all births in the Black community. Of young Black mothers under the age of 25, more than 75 percent live in poverty.

Ruth King, a past president of the Association of Black Psychologists, explained the psychological hardships and guilt inflicted on these young women by society when they become pregnant.

Another panelist talked about the second-class status pregnant high school women are pushed into. Nearly 6 out of 10 teenage mothers are unable to finish high school. And teenage mothers have a great

need, not less, for an education and vocational training in order to care for and raise their babies.

Gaye Williams, the third vice-chair of the National Political Congress of Black Women, said, "The antichoice attack hits hardest at the most vulnerable — young Black women."

Conference participants also agreed that Black women should not be asked to make the impossible decision of whether they are first Black or first women as they have been for many years.

Pay Tyson of the National Political Congress of Black Women spoke of the indispensable role of women in the civil rights movement. But when civil rights leaders were asked to support the fight for abortion rights, she said, many put the question under the table. Some civil rights leaders who are religious have opposed abortion as morally wrong. Tyson said that Black women are ready to take up the challenge of convincing such leaders to back the fight for abortion rights.

A lot of discussion centered on getting men to show their support for abortion rights by coming out for the March 9 demonstration.

The question of the place of Black women in the broader women's liberation movement — which participants felt had

not adequately dealt with the concerns of Black women — was also addressed. The overwhelming message conveyed by the panelists and participants was that now is the time for Black women to be confident enough in our convictions not to feel threatened with losing our direction and self-esteem when we work with women's groups that are predominantly white.

Diane Bush, an associate for policy development with the Alan Guttmacher Institute, took up the question, "Is abortion genocide?" She said that many women of the oppressed national minorities had difficulty in the early 1970s with the women's liberation movement and the demand for abortion rights. This was especially true because of the forced sterilization we had suffered. "But we failed to realize that we could control abortion once it was legalized. We could take more control over our reproduction," she said.

Throughout the meeting, the importance of building the March 9 abortion rights action was stressed. Vicki Alexander of the Alliance Against Women's Oppression said, "Our job is to regalvanize the abortion rights movement. This march is very important. They are testing women of color. If they can get rid of legal abortion, they'll come back against us with one attack after another."

International Socialist Review

Supplement to the Militant February 1986

The revolutionary democratic program for South Africa An African National Congress analysis of Freedom Charter

The following document is an analysis of the Freedom Charter, the program of the revolutionary democratic movement in South Africa. The Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People at Kliptown on June 25 and 26, 1955. The Congress was convened by the African National Congress and its allied organizations and attended by 3,000 delegates representing all races and a wide variety of groups. This analysis of the Charter was presented at the ANC's Morogoro Conference held in Tanzania in May 1969.

It is reprinted here from the book *Apartheid, a Collection of Writings on South African Racism by South Africans*, edited by Alex La Guma and published by International Publishers. Subheads are from the original document and they refer to the sections of the Freedom Charter.

The South Africa of today is the product of the common labor of all its peoples. The cities, industries, mines, and agriculture of the country are the result of the efforts of all its peoples. But the wealth is utilized by and for the interests of the white minority only.

The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to unite the Africans as a nation and to forge an instrument for their liberation. From the outset the African National Congress asserted the right of the African people as the indigenous owners of the country, entitled to determine its direction and destiny. Simultaneously our forefathers recognized that the other groups in the country, the Europeans, Indians, and Coloureds, were historically part and parcel of South Africa.

The ANC rejected the claims of the European settlers to domination and fought against all attempts to subjugate them in the land of their birth. But in the face of the gravest injustices the ANC never once abandoned the principle that all those who had their home in the country of the Africans were welcome, provided only that they accepted full and consistent equality and freedom for all. In this, the ANC was not merely bowing to history and reality but believed that it was correct in principle to make this position clear. Over and over again in the face of manifest inhumanity the ANC absolutely refused to be provoked into abandoning its democratic principles.

The ruling white minority rejected the concepts of the ANC, and to that extent the movement and the people fought and will fight them.

In the early '50s, when the struggle for freedom was reaching new intensity, the need was seen for a clear statement of the future South Africa as the ANC saw it. Thus was born the Congress of the People Campaign. In this campaign the African National Congress and its allies invited the whole of South Africa to record their demands, which would be incorporated in a common document called the Freedom Charter. Literally millions of people participated in the campaign and sent in their demands of the kind of South Africa they wished to live in. These demands found final expression in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter was adopted at the Congress of the People, representative of all the people of South Africa, which met at Kliptown, Johannesburg, on June 25 and 26, 1955. The 3,000 delegates who gathered at Kliptown were workers, peasants, intellectuals, women, youth, and students of all races and colors. The congress was the climax of the campaign waged by the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Organization, the South African Congress of Trade Unions, and the Congress of Democrats. Subsequently, all these organizations adopted the Freedom Charter in their national conferences as their official program. Thus the Freedom Charter became the common program enshrining the hopes and aspirations of all the progressive people of South Africa.

Today the African National Congress and its allies are engaged in an armed struggle for the overthrow of the racist regime. In its place the ANC will establish a democratic state along the lines indicated in the Freedom Charter. Although the Charter was adopted 14 years ago, its words remain as fresh and relevant as ever. Some who have forgotten its actual terms or the kind of document it is, who detach this or that phrase from the document

The Freedom Charter thus begins by an assertion of what is and has been a cardinal democratic principle, that all can live in South Africa whatever their origin, in equality and democracy. That the South Africa of the future will not be a country divided unto itself and dominated by a particular racial group. It will be the country of all its inhabitants. It is the white people who, in the past as now, have rejected this principle, leaving the people no alternative but to convince them by the truth of revolutionary struggle. The Preamble ends by calling on the people, black and white, as equals, countrymen, and brothers to pledge to strive together sparing neither strength nor courage until the democratic changes set out in the Freedom Charter had been won.

The Preamble, couched in terms similar to many famous documents reflecting man's aspiration for freedom, called for a new state resting on the will of the people—a repudiation of the existing state and a call for revolution. Hereunder we examine, briefly, each section of our Charter.

The people shall govern!

The Republican constitution of South Africa passed in 1961 is a monument to racialism and despotism. In terms of this constitution, supreme legislative authority is vested in the white fascist State President, the House of Assembly, and the Senate. Only a white person can be elected State President. The House of Assembly and the Senate consist exclusively of white representatives elected by an exclusively white electorate. Therefore the power to make laws in our country is a monopoly of the white minority.

The same applies to other organs of government, such as the four provincial councils of Natal, Cape, Orange Free State, and Transvaal, which are headed by a white administrator assisted by an all white executive council. Organs of local government such as district councils, municipal councils, boroughs are manned entirely by white people. Such organs of local government as there are for nonwhites consist of the Transkei Legislative Council and an Executive, the Indian Council, the Coloured Council, urban Bantu Authorities, Territorial Authorities, and other such bodies. These are all undemocratic institutions with little or no power and serving merely as a sounding board for the white minority government.

The administration in South Africa is similarly manned

Continued on next page



Eli Weinberg
The 1955 Congress of the People was held near Johannesburg, South Africa, and it adopted the Freedom Charter. Here a group of Indian delegates arrives at congress, some of 3,000 delegates representing millions of South Africans who had participated in a discussion on what kind of South Africa they wished to live in.



Children and peasants of the Bantustan "homelands" under apartheid. ANC declares that in a free South Africa land shall be shared among those who work it. White rulers have seized 87 percent of the land, while Black majority has been assigned maximum of 13 percent in Bantustans.

Continued from previous page

at all significant levels by white persons.

A successful armed revolution will put an end to this state of affairs.

The Parliament of South Africa will be wholly transformed into an Assembly of the People. Every man and woman in our country shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all offices and bodies which make laws. The present administration will be smashed and broken up. In its place will be created an administration to which all people irrespective of race, color, or sex can take part. The bodies of minority rule shall be abolished and in their place will be established democratic organs of self-government in all the provinces, districts, and towns of the country.

All national groups shall have equal rights!

In South Africa not only does the system at present enforce discrimination against individuals by reason of their color or race, but in addition some national groups are privileged, as such, over others. At the moment, the Afrikaner national group is lording it over the rest of the population, with the English group playing second fiddle to them. For all the nonwhite groups — the Africans, Indians, and the Coloureds — the situation is one of humiliation and oppression. As far as languages are concerned, only Afrikaans and English have official status in the bodies of state such as Parliament or provincial councils; in the courts, schools, and in the administration. The culture of the African, Indian, and Coloured people is barely tolerated. In fact, everything is done to smash and obliterate the genuine cultural heritage of our people. If there

is reference to culture by the oppressors, it is for the purpose of using it as an instrument to maintain our people in backwardness and ignorance.

Day in and day out our white politicians and publicists are regaling the world with their theories of national, color, and racial discrimination and contempt for our people. Enshrined in the laws of South Africa are a host of insulting provisions directed at the dignity and humanity of the oppressed people.

A democratic government of the people shall ensure that all national groups have equal rights, as such, to achieve their destiny in a united South Africa.

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts, and in the schools for the Africans, Indians, Coloureds, and whites as far as their national rights are con-

cerned. All people shall have equal right to use their own languages and to develop their own folk culture and customs; all national groups shall be protected by laws against insults to their race or national pride; the preaching and practice of national, racial, or color discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime; and all laws and practices based on apartheid or racial discrimination shall be set aside.

South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white . . .

Recognizes that other oppressed people deprived of land live in South Africa. The white people who now monopolize the land have made South Africa their home and are historically part of the South African population and as such entitled to land. This made it perfectly correct to demand that the land be shared among those who work it. But who works the land? Who are the tillers?

The bulk of the land in our country is in the hands of land barons, absentee landlords, big companies, and state capitalist enterprises. The land must be taken away from exclusively European control and from these groupings and divided among the small farmers, peasants, and landless of all races who do not exploit the labor of others. Farmers will be prevented from holding land in excess of a given area, fixed in accordance with the concrete situation in each locality. Lands held in communal ownership will be increased so that they can afford a decent livelihood to the people, and their ownership shall be guaranteed. Land obtained from land barons and the monopolies shall be distributed to the landless and land-poor peasants. State land shall be used for the benefit of all the people.

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all land shall be open to ownership and use to all people, irrespective of race.

The State shall help farmers with implements, seeds, tractors, and dams to save soil and assist the tillers. Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land. Instruments of control, such as the "Trek Pass," private jails on farms, forced labor, shall be abolished. The policy of robbing people of their cattle in order to enforce them to seek work in order to pay taxes shall be stopped.

All shall be equal before the law!

In terms of such laws as the notorious Suppression of Communism Act, the Native Administration Act, the Riotous Assemblies Act, the Terrorism and Sabotage Acts, and many other laws, our people suffer imprisonment, deportation and restriction without fair trials. These laws shall be abolished. No one shall suffer imprisonment, deportation, or restriction without a fair trial.

In our country, petty government officials are invested with vast powers in their discretion to condemn people. These powers shall be ended.

The courts of South Africa are manned by white officials, magistrates, judges. As a result the courts serve as instruments of oppression. The democratic state shall create courts representative of all the people.

South Africa has the highest proportion of prisoners of any state in the world. This is because there are so many petty infringements to which a penalty of imprisonment is attached. In a new South Africa, imprisonment shall only be for serious crimes against the people and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.

It has been a standing policy of white governments in South Africa to prevent Africans and other nonwhites from holding responsible positions in the police force. The present police force and army are instruments of coercion to protect white supremacy. Their whole aim is punitive and terroristic against the majority of the population.

It is the major aim of the armed revolution to defeat and destroy the police force, army, and other instruments of coercion of the present state.

In a Democratic South Africa the army and police force shall be open to people of all races. Already *Umkhonto we Sizwe* — the nucleus of our future people's army — is an armed force working in the interests of people drawn from the land for their liberation. *Umkhonto we Sizwe* is a people's army.

The Freedom Charter

in current

'New International'

The dynamics of revolution in South Africa is featured in the current issue of *New International*, a magazine of Marxist politics and theory. Fighters against apartheid, in the United States and other countries, will find valuable material here in equipping themselves politically to carry on the struggle. Articles and speeches by: Jack Barnes, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party; Oliver Tambo, president of the African National Congress of South Africa; Cuba's President Fidel Castro; and Ernest Harsch, managing editor of *Intercontinental Press*.



Send \$5 plus 75 cents handling and postage to New International, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

khonto we Sizwe consists of people drawn from all population groups in South Africa.

All shall enjoy equal human rights!

South Africa has numerous laws which limit or infringe the human rights of the people. One need only mention the notorious Suppression of Communism Act; Proclamation 400, which imposes a state of emergency in the Transkei; the Proclamation of 1953 which bans meetings of more than 10 Africans in scheduled areas; the Native Laws Amendment Act, which introduces racial discrimination in churches and places of worship; the Bantu Education Act, which makes education without a government permit an offense — surely an offense unique in the world — to educate without a permit!

All the above acts and regulations will be swept away by a people's government. The laws shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship, and to educate their children.

The Pass Laws of South Africa result in the arrest of an average of 1,100 persons a day. These laws control and prohibit movement of our people in the country. There are also laws which restrict movement from one province to another. As part of their checking of the people, numerous police raids are organized during which homes are broken into at any time of the day or night. Many laws give the police powers to enter people's homes without warrant and for no apparent reason except to terrorize them.

All this shall be abolished. The privacy of the home from police raids shall be protected by law.

All shall be free to travel without restrictions from

“Bodies of minority rule shall be abolished and in their place will be established democratic organs of self-government . . .”

countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad.

Pass laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

There shall be work and security!

As with everything else, the rights of collective bargaining of workers in South Africa have been twisted and warped by racial ideas and practices. Africans do not have the right to form registered trade unions and are prohibited from going on strike. Other workers are forced to belong to racially divided unions. The government has the power to determine what jobs shall be reserved for what racial groups. People of different races are paid differential wage rates for the same work. Migratory labor is a chief feature of the South African economy and leads to massive social upheaval and distress, particularly among Africans. In the Democratic State the ANC is determined to achieve, all who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers, and to make wage agreements with their employers.

The State shall recognize the right and duty of all to work and to draw full unemployment benefits. Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work. There shall be a 40-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers. Miners, domestic workers, farm workers, and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work to form trade unions and join political organizations.

The use of child labor, the housing of male workers in single men's compounds, the system whereby workers on wine farms are paid tots of wine as part payment on their wages, contract labor — all these pernicious practices shall be abolished by a victorious revolutionary government.

The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!

One of the biggest crimes of the system of white supremacy is the damage it has done to the development of the people of South Africa in the fields of learning and culture. On the one hand, the minds of white people have been poisoned with all manner of unscientific and racialist twaddle in their separate schools, colleges, and universities. There has been made available to them all the worst forms of so-called Western culture. The best creations of art, writing, the theater and cinema, which extol the unity of the human family and the need for liberty, are only made available in dribs and drabs, while the general position is one of a cultural desert. As far as the nonwhite people are concerned, the picture is one of deprivation all along the line. One has to think hard to discover whether or not there is even one single theater, drama school, ballet school, college of music to which nonwhites are admitted in South Africa. In Cape Town there is some ridiculously slight opening for Coloured people. Otherwise, 8 percent of the people of South Af-

rica are by and large confined to the few cinemas whose fare is the most inferior type of American cinema art.

A vigilant censorship system exists to ensure that these racially separate cinemas do not show nonwhites anything that is considered to be bad for them by the authorities.

It is not only that nonwhites are virtually debarred from the cultural productions of mankind, but in addition everything has been done to prevent them developing their own national cultures. Publishing is strictly controlled. Apart from the most banal forms of music, the people are not encouraged or allowed to produce such music as enhances their spirit. Such music as contains protest against conditions of life are searched for and prohibited. The languages of the people are not permitted to be developed by them in their own way. Ignorant and officious white professors sit in education committees as arbiters of African languages and books without consultation with the people concerned. The grotesque spectacle is seen of the white government of South Africa posing as a "protector" of so-called Bantu culture and traditions of which they know nothing. The arrogance of the fascists knows no bounds! They apparently love African culture more than the Africans themselves! The truth is that they wish to preserve these aspects of the African tradition which contain divisive tendencies likely to prevent the consolidation of the African people as a nation.

The forces represented in the present state, after combating education of nonwhites for over one hundred years, suddenly decided to take over all education as a state responsibility. The result was the introduction of a racially motivated ideological education, a lowering of standards, the emergence of tribal colleges, and the intensification of racial separation in university education. Science and technology are hardly taught to nonwhites. The training of doctors and other medical personnel is desirous.

The Democratic State shall discover, develop, and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life; all cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas, and contact with other lands. The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honor human brotherhood, liberty and peace.

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal, and equal for all children.

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit.

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan.

Teachers shall have the rights of other citizens to organize themselves and participate in political life. The color bar in cultural life, in sport, and education shall be abolished.

There shall be houses, security and comfort!

Migratory labor and its concomitant of separation of families, social problems, and distress, is one of the tragedies of South Africa. Residential segregation is the order of the day throughout South Africa. Massive shortage and bad housing for nonwhites and huge homes and flats, most of which are either empty or not fully used, for the white minority. The infant mortality rate in our country is among the highest in the world and the life expectancy of Africans among the lowest. Medical services are haphazard and costly.



Black South African miners are now forced to live in barracks, separated from their families. They are subject to mass firings and deportations should they demand rights against employers and white government. Freedom Charter guarantees workers right to have work, form unions, a minimum wage, equal pay for equal work, and right to share in wealth of country, which will be transferred to ownership of the people.

The Democratic State established after the victory of the revolution shall ensure the right of the people to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security. The vast unused housing space in such areas as the flatlands of Hillbrow and Johannesburg shall be made available to the people. Rent and prices shall be lowered and adequate amounts of food shall be made available to the people. A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state. Free medical

“Democratic South Africa will actively support national liberation movements against imperialism . . .”

care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with medical care for mothers and young children. Slums, which have to some extent been demolished in the nine major centers of the country, shall be eliminated in the middle of towns and rural areas where the majority of the people live.

New suburbs shall be built where proper facilities shall be provided for transport, lighting, playing fields, crèches, and social centers.

The aged, the orphans, the disabled, and the sick shall be cared for by the state.

Every person shall have the right to leisure, rest, and recreation.

Fenced locations and racial ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which result in the breakup of families shall be repealed.

There shall be peace and friendship!

In the wake of the victorious revolution, a Democratic People's Republic shall be proclaimed in South Africa. This shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations.

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of international disputes by negotiation — not war.

Peace and friendship amongst all people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities, and status of all.

The Democratic State shall maintain close neighborly

Continued on next page



'Misconduct': crimes of asbestos corporations

Outrageous Misconduct: The Asbestos Industry on Trial, by Paul Brodeur. New York, Pantheon Books, 1985, 374 pages, \$19.95 hardcover.

BY MORRIS STARSKY

Asbestos is a mineral fiber found in rocks. There are several kinds of asbestos fibers, all of which can withstand the fiercest heat. Yet they are so soft they can be spun or woven like cotton or flax. Asbestos fibers are virtually indestructible by natural processes.

Asbestos is used in several thousand products and in-

BOOK REVIEW

dustrial applications. It can be found in almost every factory, school, home, and farm across the country. For many years it was used to insulate boilers and pipes and in acoustical ceiling materials. In these uses, the asbestos easily breaks up into small flaked particles that are deadly when breathed. Exposure to asbestos particles causes lung cancer, mesothelioma (an invariably fatal tumor), and asbestosis (a dreaded respiratory disease that kills slowly and painfully).

There is no level of exposure to asbestos fibers that experts believe is completely safe. Once inhaled, asbestos fibers can lodge in tissue for a long time before symptoms of an illness develop.

Millions exposed

Asbestos came to be used extensively to insulate boilers, steam pipes, turbines, ovens, kilns, and other high-temperature equipment about a century ago. Since then, millions of unsuspecting American workers — 4.5 million men and women in the World War II shipyards alone — were exposed to high levels of asbestos dust in the production and application of insulation products.

Every year, many thousands of workers became ill and died as the result of inhaling asbestos fibers. According to Dr. Irving Selikoff, the director of the Environmental Sciences Laboratory at the Mount Sinai School of Medicine in New York, 21 million living Americans were exposed to asbestos between 1940 and 1980. Of these, between 8 and 10 thousand will die from asbestos-related cancer every year for the next 20 years.

Outrageous Misconduct was first published as a four-part series in the *New Yorker* magazine. It is an account of the long legal struggle to get meaningful compensation for workers who developed lung cancer and other diseases as a result of their exposure to asbestos in insulation products, as well as for the survivors of those who died.

Since 1966, thousands of damage lawsuits have been brought against the Manville Corp. (formerly Johns-Manville) and other asbestos insulation companies. Evidence found in the late 1970s revealed that Manville knew about the danger of working with or near asbestos for more than 50 years, but did not warn insulation workers. Workers who became ill were not told the nature of their illness. Medical knowledge about the danger of asbestos was suppressed from publication. And juries in earlier trials were told that such knowledge did not become available until 1964.

By 1982, Manville and its insurance carriers had paid out \$50 million in out-of-court settlements, an average of \$42,000 per case. This was double the average settlement

reached in 1979. Moreover, juries began awarding punitive damages, assessed only for outrageous and willful misconduct, to Manville's victims. There is no insurance for punitive damages.

In 1981, Manville's insurance carriers refused to pick up the tab for its legal defense and to pay any more claims. So, with 16,500 lawsuits still pending, Manville, the world's largest asbestos company, filed a petition for reorganization and protection under the federal bankruptcy code. In so doing, it stopped the pending lawsuits and put a question mark over future lawsuits.

Brodeur refers with outrage to the bankruptcy as "the latest episode in a 50-year history of corporate malfeasance and inhumanity to man in the annals of the private-enterprise system."

Case of Claude Tomplait

Brodeur outlines one of the key asbestos suits. Claude Tomplait was an asbestos insulator for 20 years and a member of Local 112 of the International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers. In 1959, at age 38, he developed shortness of breath, tightness in his chest, and a thickening of the tissue at the fingertips that often occurs with asbestosis. Pulmonary-function tests and X-rays revealed that he had developed pulmonary fibrosis — scarring of the lungs — as a result of inhaling asbestos fibers. He filed a claim for workmen's compensation with the Texas Industrial Accident Board in 1961. His claim was denied in December 1962.

Tomplait filed a lawsuit against his employers' insurance carriers on the following day. It asked that he be reimbursed for his medical expenses and compensated for 401 weeks at \$35 a week — a total of \$14,035 — which was the maximum amount that could be awarded in Texas for total permanent disability.

After fighting the case for three years, two of the insurance carriers made a settlement offer totaling \$6,000. Two years later, the third insurance company added another \$1,500 to the pot. Tomplait's attorney saw a trial as risky and advised his client to accept the offers.

By this time, Tomplait had been too sick to work for almost two years and was so disabled that he had to carry an oxygen bottle in his car.

Tomplait's lawyer, by then deeply involved in the fight around the issue, decided on a new and different move. He decided not to sue the employers, but the manufacturers of the asbestos on the grounds that Tomplait had been stricken by their product, one they knew was dangerous.

They determined that six companies had provided the asbestos for the various jobs on which he had worked and filed damage claims against them.

Two more years went by before five of the companies decided to settle for \$75,000.

Of the settlement, Tomplait had to return, by law, the original \$7,500 from his employers' insurance carriers. Deducting lawyers' fees and expenses, Tomplait was left with \$37,500 after seven years of litigation.

Tomplait's lawsuit against the sixth asbestos company, Fireboard Paper Products, ended with a jury finding in favor of the company. Tomplait, under heavy cross-examination, was unable to testify exactly on which jobs he had used that particular company's product.

Opened door

In the suits that were to follow, the courts decided it was not necessary to prove that the asbestos of a particular company was responsible for the affliction.

The tragic irony is that Tomplait's case was a legal success story. It opened the door for holding the manufacturers of asbestos liable for injuries suffered by employees of companies that they sold the stuff to. After Tomplait's case was lost, his lawyer took the case of another, similarly afflicted asbestos worker to court and won. It was this that finally led to the Manville bankruptcy scam. Workers were no longer limited to suing or trying to squeeze a settlement out of their employer, or falling back on workmen's compensation.

Brodeur explains that for many thousands of workers who became disabled by asbestos and silicosis (a similar lung disease caused by inhaling rock dust), the workmen's compensation statutes passed in the 1930s and 1940s were a swindle. Workers who were robbed of their health were then cheated out of just compensation for their loss of earning power, their suffering, and their early death.

The section of *Outrageous Misconduct* on the collusion between the asbestos industry, insurance companies, the media, and state governments that led to the inclusion of asbestos in workmen's compensation laws provides a rare glimpse into the inner workings of the capitalist system.

As Brodeur points out, workmen's compensation is theoretically a no-fault system that makes employers li-



Dr. Irving Selikoff examines worker who has an invariably fatal cancer caused by asbestos. For 50 years capitalists were aware of dangers of asbestos, but kept them secret. Selikoff estimates 21 million in United States today have been exposed to asbestos insulation contamination and every year 8-10,000 of those will die from cancer alone, not to mention other diseases asbestos causes.

able for work-related injuries and death regardless of whether they are negligent. However, workers and their families who accept compensation are prohibited from bringing lawsuits against their employers for damages. This rigs the system in favor of employers since the state governments keep the benefits to a minimum. For years, this system allowed the asbestos industry to compensate for a worker's life and limb at bargain rates while the profits kept rolling in.

After Manville filed for bankruptcy protection, there was a repeat of the 1930s campaign to replace the tort system (whereby someone who is harmed by another's wrongdoing can bring a lawsuit for damages) with another variant of workmen's compensation. Brodeur is dead set against any scheme that would prevent workers from using the tort system to get their claims into court and heard by a jury. He believes that huge compensatory and punitive damage awards are an effective deterrent to corporate mass murder for profit.

While this is debatable, there is no doubt about corporate hostility to product-liability lawsuits. The Heritage Foundation, a right-wing think tank, recently floated some proposals for "legal reform" that would do away with punitive damages except for intentional harm, eliminate contingency fees for attorneys (instead of a fee, the attorney takes a percentage of the damages award, if any) so working people wouldn't be able to afford lawsuits, and establish maximum damage awards set by the states.

Manville 'bail-out'

Brodeur is also concerned about a Manville "bail-out." There have already been two attempts to make working people pay for Manville's crimes. A bill written with the help of Manville's lawyers was introduced in Congress by Rep. Millicent Fenwick (R-N.J.) in 1976. The measure would have barred victims of asbestos disease from bringing product-liability or other lawsuits against the asbestos industry, the tobacco industry, or the federal government. Instead, victims would be compensated from a federally administered fund.

Compensation awards were set to range from a \$500 per month minimum to a \$1,000 maximum for a man with a wife and two or more children.

The second bill to compensate victims of asbestos disease, called the Asbestos Health Hazards Compensation Act, was introduced by Sen. Gary Hart (D-Colo.). It too was written in consultation with Manville. It not only proposed to bar victims of asbestos disease from filing lawsuits, but left the administration of asbestos-compensation claims with the states. State workmen's compensation laws, however, require sick workers or survivors of those who died to prove their claims in proceedings where they can be contested by employers and their insurance carriers without the strict rules of a trial. Hart's plan also called for minimum compensation awards, but these would be voluntary.

I found *Outrageous Misconduct* a difficult book to read because the author includes detailed accounts of lawsuits, trials, testimony, evidence, and appeals. Nonetheless, it is a very important book for union safety committees and for working people in general because it clearly shows why we will not be safe in the workplace until we control it.

ANC on Freedom Charter

Continued from previous page

relations with the states of Lesotho, Botswana, and Swaziland in place of the present veiled threats and economic pressure applied against our brothers and sisters in these states by white supremacy.

Democratic South Africa shall take its place as a member of the O.A.U. and work to strengthen Pan-African unity in all fields. Our country will actively support national liberation movements of the peoples of the world against imperialism and neocolonialism.

Diplomatic relations will be established with all countries regardless of their social and political systems on the principles of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

The economic and cultural interests of those countries which sympathize with and support the struggle of South Africa for freedom shall be respected.

The revolutionary struggle is in its infancy. It will be a long hard road. To accomplish the glorious task of the revolution, maximum unity among all national groups and revolutionary forces must be created and maintained. All South African patriots whatever their race must take their place in the revolution under the banner of the African National Congress. Forward to revolution and the victory of the people's program of liberation!

BUILDING ANTI-APARTHEID AND ANTIWAR ACTIONS

New York rally on South Africa set for June

"We believe that the time is now for a massive, nationwide demonstration of the American people's moral repugnance toward apartheid and to call for the Reagan administration to cut all ties with South Africa."

"We believe that an appropriate time for such a mass mobilization would be Saturday, June 14, 1986 — in commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising."

"Our proposed theme is 'Freedom, peace, non-intervention, and self-determination.'"

This call for action was initiated by the New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council. It is organizing a march and rally in New York City on June 14. The council grew out of the anti-apartheid demonstration of 30,000 in New York last August.

The initial sponsors of this call include Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer of District 65 of the United Auto Workers; Jim Bell, president of the New York City chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, and the New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council; Tom DeLuca, Mobilization for Survival, New York; Donna Katzin, New Jersey Anti-apartheid Mobilization Coa-

lition; Bill Nuchow, secretary-treasurer Teamsters Local 840; Jack O'Dell, international affairs director, National Rainbow Coalition; Karl Bissinger, War Resisters League; Harriet Michel, New York Urban League and TransAfrica; New York State Assemblyman Roger Green; Delores Jackson Richards, Fellowship of Reconciliation; and Bob Nuchow, Hunter College Free South Africa Committee in New York.

For more information and to endorse the June 14 anti-apartheid action, contact Jim Bell or Mae Ngai, New York Anti-apartheid Coordinating Council, (212) 673-5120.

Champ urged to pull out of fight

The South African Non Racial Olympics Committee and the British Black Conference Against Apartheid sent an open letter to European heavyweight champion Frank Bruno, urging him to pull out of the scheduled March 4 fight with Gerrie Coetzee of South Africa at London's Wembley Arena.

Paul Stephenson, the nonracial Olympics committee chair, said that "this fight will be a big coup for apartheid. Bruno does not realize the ramifications of this fight and has been badly misled."

The Black Conference's Vice-chair Ben Bousquet said that "Bruno is a hero to thousands of Black kids all over the country.

They worship him. But if he fights Coetzee, he will have no one supporting him. They will all give him the thumbs down."

The anti-apartheid fighters are planning to ask British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher not to grant white South African Coetzee an entry permit to England. They say permitting his entrance violates England's own stand on the Gleaneagles Agreement opposing sports ties with South Africa.

'Contra' leader greeted by picket

Adolfo Calero, commander in chief of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force, better known as the *contras*, recently toured North Carolina to try to drum up support for the U.S.-backed war in Nicaragua.

He had speaking engagements at Duke University, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and a fundraising luncheon with the well-to-do. Pickets and demonstrators were at all the events.

Speaking to 1,500 at Duke, he explained that "Nicaragua is below the Mason-Dixon line, and we feel like rebels," identifying himself with the defeated slavocracy of the South, to which one of the 400 protesters present in the audience responded, "Do you keep slaves?" The protesters wore black to mourn the victims of contra attacks.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, who was in Los Angeles at the time of the consulate resolution, praised the action.

The Los Angeles Free South Africa Movement plans to demonstrate at the consulate itself if the State Department fails to act on the city council's request.

Meetings of the group are held each Thursday, 7:20 p.m. at the Ward AME Church, 1177 25th Street in Los Angeles.

Beverly Hills asks S. Africa consulate be removed

BY ROBERT KOPPELMAN

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. — On January 21 the Beverly Hills City Council passed a resolution asking the U.S. State Department to remove the South African consulate from the city.

The resolution was adopted by a 4-1 vote after repeated protests by the Los Angeles Free South Africa Movement at city council meetings over the past two months.

At first, the council evaded demands that the consulate be expelled by passing a resolution that denounced apartheid but made no mention of the South African regime's presence in the community. It had also passed an "urgency resolution" directed against the anti-apartheid group banning signs and banners from the council chambers.

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Black S. African wins political asylum

After years of legal hearings, the Immigration and Naturalization Service has granted South African Thembekile Xiphi political asylum in the United States.

Xiphi was arrested in South Africa by the Security Police while demonstrating with other students in the 1976 Soweto rebellion.

He was tortured, beaten, and held in solitary confinement while in jail.

In 1976 he escaped to a refugee camp in Botswana, a country north of South Africa, and then to the United States in 1981.

"The recent decision by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to grant me political asylum in the United States is extremely important, not only to me personally but more critically, to hundreds of thousands of other South African refugees," said Xiphi.

In court the U.S. attorneys argued that his life would not be endangered should he be deported to South Africa.

At a press conference, Ben Chavis, executive director of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice, pointed out that "If Mr. Xiphi had been deported he would not be alive today. Deportation would have signed his death warrant."

U.S. aid goes to S. Africa-backed terrorists

BY FRED FELDMAN

U.S. officials have used the occasion of a visit to the United States by Jonas Savimbi, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), to leak the information that the U.S. government has already begun directly aiding the South Africa-backed terrorist organization.

UNITA is armed and financed by the South African government. It participates in the apartheid regime's 10-year war against the independent West African nation of Angola.

The February 7 *Washington Post* reported that the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency "has for several months shared intelligence information with [Savimbi] and provided communications support to his guerrillas. One source said the intelligence-sharing and other nonlethal aid, which reportedly began in December, was the first part of a two-stage covert assistance program approved by President Reagan and his national security advisers last November." Reagan has notified Senate and House intelligence committees of plans to send \$10-\$15 million in aid to UNITA.

While in Washington, Savimbi met with President Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, Admiral William Crowe (chairman of the armed forces Joint Chiefs of Staff), and CIA Director William Casey.

The Reagan administration hopes that the "nonlethal" assistance will enable Savimbi and his South African backers to kill and maim many more Angolans. South Africa's war against Angola, including UNITA operations, has already taken more than 10,000 lives.

Pentagon planners, the *Post* reports, hope the killing and other destruction "provoke dissension in the government and trigger a military coup." Some in the Reagan administration are doubtful.

The State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, in contrast, has reportedly concluded that UNITA "can't win and can't force a coalition government" on Angola.

The CIA, another party in the debate within the government, is reported to believe that current levels of aid to Savimbi are not enough to force a change of government on Angola.

For the Reagan administration, open support for Savimbi is a way to step up covert support to the South African regime's aggression against Angola and other neighboring countries. The aid now flowing to Savimbi is the first to be made public since 1975 when Washington spent \$32 million to covertly assist a massive invasion by South African troops aimed at putting Savimbi and other allies of the apartheid regime in power.

The South African invaders were pushed back when thousands of Cuban troops arrived to help defend Angola. The Cubans are still there, forming a defense line against the threat of another all-out invasion from South Africa.

Much of the capitalist media joined the Reagan administration in praising Savimbi and attempting to minimize his ties to the apartheid regime. "There is no rebel leader in the world for whom the term 'freedom fighter' is more apt," claimed a New York Daily News editorial February 5.

In the February 7 *New York Times*, R.W. Apple noted that "dissenting voices were hardly audible over the media barrage" supporting Savimbi.

Widespread opposition exists, however. The U.S. ruling class is also divided over open support to UNITA.

An editorial in the February 10 *New York Times* conceded that Savimbi "is seen by Black Africans as Pretoria's stalking horse. By openly joining his cause for no achievable end, the United States becomes the strategic ally of a racist state."

The House Select Committee on Intelligence was reported February 7 to have sent a letter to Reagan urging reconsideration of the plan to provide more covert aid to Savimbi. "Knowledgeable sources" described "sharp divisions" on the committee about the supposedly covert operation, reported the February 8 *New York Times*.

A news conference protesting the royal welcome to Savimbi was held in New York City February 6. It included John Stockwell, former CIA station chief in Angola during the 1975 covert operations supporting the South African invasion; retired Judge William Booth, former president of the American Committee on Africa; former New York City Council President Paul O'Dwyer; John Henning of the New York Labor Committee Against Apartheid; a representative of the Angolan mission to the United Nations; and others.

A representative of Rep. Theodore Weiss reported there are now 36 cosponsors for a bill in the House of Representatives that would bar public or covert aid to Savimbi.

More than 200 people picketed outside the offices of Freedom House when that right-wing outfit hosted Savimbi February 7.

The U.S. government's open collaboration with this South Africa-backed terrorist against Angola drew sharp criticism from governments in southern Africa that face South African aggression.

This was a feature of a meeting held in late January in Harare, Zimbabwe. It was attended by members of the Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) and representatives of 37 other nations.

The SADCC consists of the governments of Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. According to the February 3 *Washington Post*, delegates "clearly were upset that U.S. repre-

sentatives were discussing economic development here while President Reagan was extending a warm welcome to a rebel movement that has destroyed a significant portion of the region's infrastructure of roads and railways."

Simba Makoni, executive secretary of the nine-nation group, said Washington's support to UNITA was "misdirected and very costly both for our region and for the people of Angola."

Zimbabwe's Ministry of Foreign Affairs declared that Reagan's meeting with Savimbi "must, once again, call into doubt the sincerity and, indeed, the morality of those within the present American administration who claim that their only goal in southern Africa is the achievement of peace, justice, and equality."

Peter Mmusi, vice-president of Botswana — described by the *Washington Post* as "one of the region's most pro-Western Black leaders" — stated: "This clearly places the United States in league with South Africa in fomenting instability in this region."

Filipino ruler gets U.S. nod

Continued from Page 3

Aquino sparked a qualitative escalation of that opposition. Millions poured into the streets, voicing their anger at the assassination.

The mounting defiance to his rule — coupled with the pressure from Washington — led Marcos to stage the snap elections. He, of course, had no intention of permitting his future to be determined at the polling place. "Pulling out has never been one of the ideas I considered," he told one reporter.

No matter how Marcos' henchmen count the vote, the people are clearly on the march. In their great mass, they have become actors on the stage of history.

They are driven by the brutal repression and by the harsh economic crisis that grips the country.

Seventy percent of the nation's 55 million people are now living below the poverty line. About 60 percent are unemployed or underemployed.

Almost half the people are dependent on agriculture for a living, but vast numbers

are landless. Sugar, the main crop, accounts for 38 percent of exports, but the world market price of sugar is at near rock bottom. For the plantation workers this means untold misery.

On the sugar-producing island of Negros — scene of bloody repression of protesting sugar unionists — 150,000 children suffer from extreme malnutrition. In the past two years, malnutrition deaths have doubled.

Not surprisingly, the growth of rebellion has been particularly strong in the countryside. The great concern of the Filipino ruling class, and U.S. businessmen and bankers, is the accelerated growth of the antigovernment guerrilla force, the New People's Army, and the political coalitions associated with it.

Increasing numbers of peasants, workers, and middle-class people in the cities have been supporting these forces and their demands: land reform, democracy, and independence from U.S. domination.

The explosive events surrounding the elections are but a reflection of the determination of the Filipino people to achieve these goals. And they won't be held back.

Reservists prepare to defend Nicaragua

BY HARVEY McARTHUR

ESQUIPULAS, Nicaragua — Helicopter gunships swooped overhead and tanks revved their engines here as 6,000 army reserve troops pledged to fight to the death to defend Nicaragua from U.S. attack.

The February 1 ceremony at this military camp south of Managua — Nicaragua's capital — inaugurated three new reserve brigades that will strengthen the capital's defenses.

"This ceremony takes place during difficult times for the Sandinista People's Revolution," Commander Humberto Ortega, Minister of Defense, told the troops.

Ortega outlined the recent escalation of the U.S. mercenary war against Nicaragua. Nicaragua is seeking a "just, worthy, political, and negotiated solution," he said, "but we must not forget for one instant that Nicaragua's peace policy rests on the morale and on these weapons of the Sandinista people of Nicaragua."

The ceremony was an impressive display of the revolution's growing military strength. The thousands of reservists were flanked by dozens of armored personnel carriers. Twenty tanks, backed by heavy artillery and antiaircraft guns, stood in the center of the formation. Transport helicopters and helicopter gunships of the Sandinista Air Force buzzed the field to the cheers of the reservists.

Workers from Managua

The three new brigades are made up of workers from factories, offices, and government ministries in Managua. Most are between 20 and 40 years old and therefore not called for regular duty in the army. They will remain at their jobs in the city, but be trained and ready to mobilize on short notice.

These new brigades and others that are being created this year strengthen the defense of Managua and other cities in case of U.S. attack. The victories by the Sandinista People's Army against the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries (*contras*) have made it possible for the Nicaraguan government to turn attention to organizing these reserve brigades. This increases the military and political price the U.S. government would pay in an invasion.

Prior to 1985, many workers mobilized in reserve battalions to fight the contras in



Militant/Harvey McArthur

Newly formed army brigades, ready to defend their country, march in Nicaragua.

the mountains. Now, the regular army, made up largely of 18- to 20-year-old draftees, is dealing heavy blows to the contras. Ortega announced that in January alone they had killed 340 contras and captured 52 more.

Demobilized veterans of army

Many of the reservists are recently demobilized veterans of the army. Others are workers who have mobilized previously to fight the U.S.-backed mercenaries. Ricardo Benavides García, who led the reservists in taking their oath, has mobilized 15 times and engaged in 8 battles in the past 6 years.

Ortega explained that these reserve troops were recruited in October and November last year and assigned to the brigades in January. "The role of the workers and their leaders, the unions, the leaders of the workplaces, and the revolution's political and mass organizations were decisive in constituting these brigades," he said. Ortega singled out the workers at

ENABUS, the Managua city bus service, who organized recruitment committees in the garages and mobile recruitment teams to sign up route drivers.

Ortega cited the following new developments in the U.S. mercenary war:

- The delivery of antiaircraft missiles to the contras, first used in December 1985.
- The January public meeting of U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz with three leaders of the mercenaries — Adolfo Caldero, Alfonso Robelo, and Arturo Cruz — and the visit of Nicaraguan Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo to the United States. These aimed at justifying U.S. intervention and persuading the U.S. Congress to resume more open military aid to the contras.
- Increased provocations by the mercenaries operating in camps in Costa Rica, along Nicaragua's southern border. Nicaraguan intelligence services report that a Chilean ship with an Uruguayan crew and under contract to a South American firm is heading for Costa Rica with arms for the contras.
- Nicaraguan intelligence reports that the contras are receiving training in chemical and biological warfare in Honduras.

• Stepped-up U.S. military maneuvers in Honduras. Between January and May this year, 10,000 U.S. troops will participate in these maneuvers, said Ortega. Major naval maneuvers are planned that will include aircraft carrier task forces from the U.S. Navy.

• Increased U.S. arms shipments to the contras based in Honduras, aimed at helping regain their strength after being battered by Nicaraguan forces in recent months.

• President Reagan's request for \$100 million in direct military aid for the contras. This, as Ortega pointed out, is more than the military aid going to Panama or Guatemala. "The U.S. government is preparing to maintain a seventh, independent army in Central America with the aim of pressuring the governments of Central America and their armed forces to submit more readily to [U.S.] plans of aggression and [U.S.] domination over their peoples, especially the Nicaraguan people," he said.

Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs

One of the groups of invited guests at the February 1 ceremony was Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs. Their sons and daughters gave their lives to overthrow the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship in 1979 and to defend Nicaragua from the contras since then. Their presence was a constant reminder of the bloody toll of the U.S. war.

"We swear, before the sacrifice of the people, before the pain of the mothers — we will never surrender in combat before the enemy," the reservists pledged.

"Wherever the Yankees come, they will die!" was a chant that repeatedly swelled up from the ranks.

The Sandinista National Liberation Front began fighting against the Somoza dictatorship 25 years ago "with our fists,

.38 caliber pistols, and patched-up shotguns," Ortega said. "Today, with their revolutionary government, our armed forces are even more worthy, more militant, more determined, more Sandinista, and more anti-imperialist."

Antiwar rally gains support

Continued from front page
and El Salvador."

Arlene Prigoff, a member of the steering committee of the Mobilization representing the U.S. Peace Council, explained to this reporter that the April 19 action complements the Peace Council's central campaign around the U.S.-Soviet summit. She explained that the Peace Council did "not counterpose the two, but will campaign against Star Wars while building the 19th."

The Bay Area Free South Africa Movement (BAFSAM) recently endorsed the march. Alameda County Supervisor and the chair of BAFSAM, John George, explained to the *Militant*, "We need a broader, bigger coalition. We need to strengthen all our coalitions and this one in particular."

George added that U.S. military intervention in the Mideast and Reagan's proposals for funding the Nicaraguan contras and the Angolan terrorists led by Jonas Savimbi add to the reasons the action is needed.

The San Francisco coalition was first organized in response to a national call to organize demonstrations around the four demands of the coalition for April 20 last year. More than 100,000 people marched here and in Washington, D.C., on that day.

Endorsers for the April 19 action include both the San Francisco and Santa Clara County labor councils of the AFL-CIO, as well as many local unions.

A letter seeking other union endorsements has been sent out. It is signed by Walter Johnson, secretary-treasurer of the San Francisco Labor Council; Jimmy Herman, International president of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU); Mattie Jackson, Northwest district director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); and Margaret Butz of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), among others.

Other endorsers include local chapters of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the International Indian Treaty Council, the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), the San Francisco Rainbow Coalition, (all of the above with representatives on the Mobilization steering committee), and many others.

For more information on the march or to order posters, leaflets, or buttons contact the Mobilization for Peace, Jobs, and Justice at (415) 621-7326.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

'PM' on the Hormel strike

Fifteen hundred striking meatpackers in Austin, Minnesota, have called for labor solidarity in their fight against George A. Hormel Co. Their union, Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers, is demanding the immediate withdrawal of the National Guard, which has been herding scabs into the plant. Hormel fired hundreds of workers from plants in Iowa, Texas, and Nebraska for honoring picket lines set up by roving teams of strikers.

The Austin meatpacking workers are on strike against Hormel's union-busting demands, which include gutting seniority rights, establishing a two-tier wage system, and jacking health and safety rules in a plant that averages two accidents per worker every year. The bosses also refuse to restore a \$2.44 wage cut they unilaterally imposed in 1984.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* has extensive on-the-spot coverage of this important labor battle, as well as the national support it has received from unionists, farmers, and others.

Also in this issue is coverage on the popular revolt in Haiti.

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Cuban Communist Party Third Congress elects new leadership

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA, Cuba, Feb. 7 — The Third Congress of the Cuban Communist Party concluded here today with the election of a new Central Committee and presentation of a new Political Bureau. In addition, Fidel Castro Ruz was unanimously reelected first secretary of the party and Raúl Castro Ruz second secretary.

The four-day congress culminated a year of preparatory discussions on all levels of the party. The document on the guidelines for economic and social development for the next five-year period was also discussed outside the party ranks by broad layers of the population. Through factory and workplace assemblies, meetings of farmers, of armed forces personnel, of leaders of the communist youth, and of students in the last year of their studies, more than 3 million Cubans participated in shaping the final document presented to the delegates.

After the commissions elected by the congress incorporated proposals for final changes and adjustments, the 1,784 delegates who had been elected by the nearly 500,000 members of the party adopted a number of important documents. In addition to the economic and social guidelines, they approved resolutions on foreign policy, the political-administrative organization of the country, guidelines for improving the system for economic planning, a number of modifications in the party statutes, and the main report presented by Fidel Castro on the opening day of the congress.

Draft program adopted

In addition, the congress adopted a draft program that will now be submitted to all

the mass organizations for discussion — to trade unions, women, farmers, neighborhood committees, students, and others. At the end of that discussion, final changes in the draft program will be made and the document submitted to a special congress at the end of 1986. Once adopted, it will replace the shorter Programmatic Platform adopted by the first congress of the Cuban Communist Party in 1975.

The congress also listened to greetings from some 30 fraternal delegations, including those brought by Daniel Ortega for the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua, Schafik Jorge Handal for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front of El Salvador, and numerous other national liberation forces and communist parties.

On the final day of the congress, while the delegates were meeting in closed session to elect a new leadership committee, some 60 solidarity meetings were organized in factories, workplaces, and schools throughout the Havana region. These enabled the foreign delegations to bring their salutations directly to the Cuban people, who greeted their guests with warmth and pride.

New Central Committee elected

One of the most important points on the congress agenda was the election of the new Central Committee. The changes made in the composition of the newly elected body were the result of a thorough-going discussion on all levels of the party, extending over many months. Forty percent of those elected to the central committee at this congress were individuals who had not served on the outgoing committee. Fifty percent of the regular and alternate



Roberto Veiga (left), general secretary of the Cuban Workers Federation, and Vilma Espín, head of the Federation of Cuban Women, were elected to Cuban Communist Party Political Bureau. Espín is first woman elected to this top party committee.

members of the new Political Bureau are new.

At the concluding session of the congress, which was broadcast live on radio and television, Fidel Castro presented the new Central Committee and Political Bureau. In summing up the work of the congress, he explained the decisive challenge facing the revolutionary organizations of Cuba on all levels — party, government ministries, mass organizations, and armed forces.

The renewal of our leadership is indispensable, he said. "We must have confidence in our young leaders and recall that the average age of those who began the armed struggle was 22. We must promote young people without fear."

If a broad policy of renewal and promotion of young cadres had not been carried out at this congress, Fidel noted, by the time of the next congress the average age of the Central Committee could reach 57.

In the past, Fidel noted, efforts to renew the leadership bodies had been more symbolic in character. Attempts to promote younger leaders tended to be interpreted as a criticism of the work of older leaders. This was often a "traumatic" process, he noted.

Result of broad discussion

The changes in the new Central Committee were the result of a broad discussion about communist attitudes toward leader-

ship positions. "Vanity is not a communist attribute," Fidel noted. "If we aspire to honors and promotions, we would not be communists."

The Central Committee itself must set the example in this renewal process, Castro noted.

In addition to the promotion of younger leaders, the criteria that guided the selection of the new committee also included the preferential promotion of women and Blacks.

"We must change what history has created," Fidel told the Cuban people. "This cannot be left to spontaneity." Women and Blacks have been discriminated against throughout our history, he said. Only "hypocrites" can refuse to recognize the legacy of this reality or fear to say it openly and work to change it.

The same general guidelines were applied in the election of the new Political Bureau. Four long-time regular members, including Blas Roca and Ramiro Valdés, stepped down. The new Political Bureau includes prominent leaders of the Cuban revolution such as Vilma Espín, head of the Federation of Cuban Women, Roberto Veiga, general secretary of the Cuban Workers Federation, and Esteban Lazo, the first secretary of the party in the province of Matanzas. Eight of the 10 alternate members of the Political Bureau are also new.

Grenada unionist wins fight against U.S.

BY RASHAAD ALI

A Grenadian appeals court ruled January 21 that there was insufficient evidence to extradite imprisoned trade unionist Chester Humphrey to the United States. Afterwards he was released from prison.

The U.S. Justice Department had sought Humphrey's extradition on charges of smuggling guns from the United States to Grenada in 1978. The Justice Department said these arms were used by the New Jewel Movement (NJM) to overthrow the Eric Gairy dictatorship in March 1979.

The NJM led the revolutionary government that held power in Grenada from March 1979 to October 1983. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and other leaders of the revolution were murdered by a clique or-

ganized around Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard that overthrew the government. This subsequently opened the way for the invasion of Grenada by the U.S. government, which set up the current pro-U.S. regime there.

After the U.S. invasion, Humphrey, a former member of the NJM, was arrested by U.S. troops. He was detained in prison for more than six months without charge, released for two months, and arrested again.

On September 2, he launched a hunger strike to protest his unjust imprisonment.

The campaign against Humphrey's extradition was led by the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement. His release is a victory for the Grenadian people.

Rally to protest Reagan visit

Continued from front page

gu," the statement emphasized. "Reagan administration finances and props apartheid. We say Reagan must invade South Africa before he could be welcomed in Grenada. African blood is our blood."

The February 20 demonstration in Grenada and other actions throughout the Caribbean on the same date will likewise protest the recent formation of the reactionary Caribbean Democratic Union. The Caribbean Democratic Union was established January 16 at a meeting in Jamaica initiated by Jamaica's Prime Minister Edward Seaga. Prime ministers Eugenia Charles of Dominica and Herbert Blaize of

Grenada participated, among others. It is affiliated with the international anticommunist alliance called the "Democratic International," which was formed at a meeting June 1-2 hosted by Jonas Savimbi in South African-controlled southern Angola. In addition to the U.S.-supported Savimbi forces, which are trying to overthrow the government of Angola, it includes the Nicaraguan counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan Democratic Force and others.

In Grenada itself, Louison pointed out, the repressive actions of the U.S.-imposed government have also been increasing. Louison was recently arrested and interrogated for several hours on trumped-up accusations of involvement in military training for opposition forces on the island. He was released without charges, a clear indication of the fraudulent character of the accusations.

"No patriot could welcome to our land someone who invaded our sovereign country," the MBPM statement concludes. "Grenada must be Grenadian!"

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The Militant, 14 Charles Lane,
New York, N.Y. 10014.

Union responds to cutbacks

Continued from back page

He did say the IAM will not reopen our contract. And he said that if the pilots or flight attendants go on strike, we'll honor their picket lines. He also criticized the IAM district at United Airlines, which ordered members to cross the picket lines of striking pilots last year.

There is a chance of strikes at Eastern. Over 4,000 pilots are taking a strike-authorization vote.

On February 5 the Air Line Pilots Association announced it would accept a 20 percent pay cut. An ALPA spokesman estimated this would save the company \$250 million. The company rejected the offer because they also demand a two-tier pay scale starting new pilots at much lower pay than in the past.

The strike deadline for the TWU flight attendants was January 20. IAM District President Bryan said the attendants outsmarted the company by not going on strike then.

Whether or not the company was fooled, it is the flight attendants who are suffering. On February 4, 1,010 were laid off. The remaining 6,000 have to do the work 7,000 were doing. Wages were slashed 20 percent. Benefits and vacations were cut. Work rules were changed so that flight attendants have to take tickets, a job previously done by nonunion gate agents. Those agents are now threatened with layoffs. Working hours have been increased, and every aspect of work life has tightened up.

The company is pressuring the pilots and flight attendants now, and the IAM is already feeling the first blows with stepped-up harassment on the job. IAM ramp workers and cleaners, for example, have been hit with a wave of disciplinary letters for supposedly not working hard enough.

The IAM contract with Eastern goes through the end of 1987. Union officials say they will not reopen it, but they've told news reporters the contract could be reopened if there is a change in top management.

Union officials, who accept the company claim of a financial crisis, are offering to help the company save money within the contract. This probably means more speedup and cost-saving programs.

But company officials insist the IAM accept 20 percent pay cuts by February 28. With the cuts already imposed on the flight attendants, and the pilots agreeing to 20 percent cuts, Bryan's stock-buying plan looks worse every day.

At the January 27 meeting, one IAM member asked Bryan what would stop the company from buying Eastern stock itself or from changing the rules concerning how shareholders can influence the company.

Bryan said the company would not do anything like that. It would not be a "prudent business decision."

He was wrong. Two days after the meeting, the company announced plans to sell or lease out its computer reservations system to raise cash to fight a "takeover" effort, and they changed the rules for the next stockholders' meeting.

Instead of union members having several months to buy stock, as the January 27 meeting projected, February 5 was set as the last day to buy stock (February 10 if you pay cash) in order to be a stockholder of record by the time of the April stockholders' meeting.

Stu Singer is a member of IAM Local 702 at Eastern Airlines in Miami.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

South Africa's War Against Its Neighbors. Panel discussion. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Defending Abortion Rights — What's At Stake for All Working People. Speakers: Francisca Cavazos, community organizer; Sue Adley, Socialist Workers Party; representative of Phoenix National Organization for Women; representative of Arizona Coalition of Labor Union Women. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 3750 W McDowell. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA

Oakland

Libya: Target of U.S. Terrorism. Speakers: Georges Sayad, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

Hear Solly Simelane, representative of African National Congress of South Africa's UN mission. Tue., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. First Unitarian Church, Castro and 14th St. Ausp: Bay Area Free South Africa Movement in conjunction with United Church of Christ. For more information call (415) 556-0471.

Tribute to Malcolm X. A film showing of *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz* followed by discussion.

Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 3808 E 14 St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 261-3014.

San Francisco

Tribute to Malcolm X. Film showing of *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz* followed by discussion. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 22, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 282-6255.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Eastern's Attack on Airline Workers: Defending Our Unions. Speakers: Stu Singer, member International Association of Machinists Local 702 at Eastern in Miami. Sun., Feb. 16, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

U.S. Aggression Against Nicaragua, an Eyewitness Account. Speakers: Gertrude Hughes, antiwar activist recently returned from Nicaragua; John Lemon, Socialist Workers Party; representative from Casa Baltimore. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

El Salvador Today. An eyewitness report and slide show by Don Gurewitz, member of International Union of Electronic Workers Local 201 who attended the November 1985 conference of FENASTRAS — the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers Unions, held in San Sal-

vador. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Crisis in the Philippines. Film showing of *Sing Your Own Song* with presentation by Harris Freeman, member of Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. 2135 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

Grand Opening of Militant Bookstore, with Cuba and Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report.

Speakers: Nancy Burton and Mark Franklin, Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 22. Grand opening begins 5 p.m., forum at 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. Twenty percent off all Pathfinder Press books. 2135 Woodward Ave. Ausp: Militant Bookstore and Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 961-0395.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Revolutionary Legacy of Malcolm X. Speakers: August Nimitz, professor of political science at University of Minnesota and member of Socialist Workers Party; Janice Dorlak, member National Black Independent Political Party. Sun., Feb. 16, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Keep Abortion Safe and Legal. Video showing of *Silent Scream* followed by *The Facts Speak Louder*. Panel discussion to follow with representative from Planned Parenthood and with Etta Ettlinger, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 93. Sun., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 4725 Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

Albany

Rally in Defense of Women's Rights: Celebrating Generations of Women In Struggle the World Over. Speakers: Jeanette Mothobi, women's division, African National Congress of South Africa; Josefina Elizabeth, Casa Nicaragua; Dorothy Cotton, civil rights activist; Carol Rechart, National Organization for Women; Colia Clark, SUNYA Afro-American Studies Department; others. Mon., Feb. 24, 7 p.m. Campus Center Ballroom SUNYA, 1400 Washington Ave., Donation: \$3. Ausp: SUNYA Women's Rights Coalition and Student Association. For more information call (518) 442-5640.

Manhattan

An Evening in Solidarity With the 13 Puerto Rican Pro-independence Activists Arrested August 30. Featured speaker: Jorge Farinacci, one of the activists seized in FBI raid. Wed., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. Casa de las Americas, 104 W 14 St. Ausp: Puerto Rican Committee Against Repression.

Film on Malcolm X: El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz, followed by discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. (preforum dinner at 6:30 p.m.). 79 Leonard St. Donation: forum, \$3; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Tribute to Sandino and International Solidarity. Speakers: Bill Gandal, 77-year-old ex-Marine who fought against Sandino who is now a supporter of the Sandinista revolution, will speak about his experiences; showing of documentary film, *Living at Risk*, about a family in the Nicaraguan revolution. Sat., Feb. 22, 3-10 p.m. P.S. 41, 116 W 11th St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Charleston

Tribute to Malcolm X. Sun., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 611-A Tennessee Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

tion call (212) 769-4293.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Celebrate Black History Month. Forums on the struggle for Black liberation nationally and internationally.

1. **Blacks in Nicaragua: Ending Centuries of Discrimination.** Sun., Feb. 16, 5 p.m.

2. **Black Women and the Fight to Defend Abortion Rights.** Sun., Feb. 23, 5 p.m. 2219 E. Market St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, 15 percent off all titles in Militant Bookstore during Black history month. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Malcolm X: The Meaning of His Ideas Today. Speaker: Mohammed Oliver, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Ethiopia: How Grain Monopolies Starve the World. Speakers: Girma Mitku and Seyoum Kiffle, Ethiopian students attending Ohio State University. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas. Film showing of *El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz* followed by presentation by Ray Parsons, member Young Socialist Alliance and United Steelworkers Local 6825. Fri., Feb. 28, 7:30 p.m. 15105 St. Clair. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

TEXAS

Dallas

Nicaragua: Victim of U.S. Aggression. Speaker: Bob Bruce, member Socialist Workers Party and International Association of Machinists. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 132 N Beckley Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Celebrate Black History Month.

Forum: "Malcolm X, the Meaning of His Ideas Today." Speakers: Janet Brammer; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 22, 7:30 p.m. 132 N Beckley Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

Books on Black struggle and the fight against apartheid. Pathfinder Bookstore. Hours: Thurs. and Fri., 12 noon to 8 p.m.; Sat., 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Sun., 12 noon to 4 p.m. 132 N Beckley Ave.

For more information call (214) 943-5195.

Houston

Defend Central American Refugees. Speakers: María Jiménez, volunteer in Service Employees International Union organizing drive. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Malcolm X — The Man and His Ideas. A presentation with recordings of Malcolm's speeches. Sat., Feb. 15, 7:30 p.m. 767 S State, 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

Tribute to Malcolm X. Sun., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. 611-A Tennessee Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Almeda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women



By Joseph Hansen
and Evelyn Reed
with an introduction by
Mary-Alice Waters

How do the wealthy owners of the cosmetics industry play on women's insecurities to sell products and rake in profits?

How are the standards of beauty determined in capitalist society?

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These are some of the questions that emerge from this new collection. It contains a lively 1954 debate over the relation of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the exploitation of women.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 2135 Woodward Ave

Thank you, O Great White Man — "We come as friends." Sen. Richard Lugar, Reagan's chief poll-watcher, on his arrival



Harry Ring

in the Philippines.

Be Prepared — The Boy Scouts have been recruiting in New York City and attribute their success to addressing the perception that the Scouts are a white,

middle-class organization. "We teach them how to treat a rat bite as opposed to a mosquito bite," a spokesperson explained. "We teach them how to ride subway trains."

Cash on Arrival — Emergency room doctors at Kent General Hospital in Dover, Delaware, want the hospital to charge for the care of patients who are dead on arrival. They note that it takes time and equipment to determine that a person is dead, and that doctors are not reimbursed for this time.

Ethics dep't (I) — The House ethics committee is checking out several solons, including Rep.

James Weaver (D-Ore.). Reportedly, he loaned himself \$81,934 from his campaign fund for a roll of the investment dice. On losing, he filed a report showing the money was a repayment of a 1974 loan he assertedly made to his campaign. Also, he assures that, before taking the cash, he checked with the ethics committee lawyer.

Ethics dep't (II) — We're not nosy, but we did wonder: If Weaver was simply repaying a loan when he took that \$80 thou, why did he have to consult a lawyer?

Ethics dep't (III) — Rep. Dan Daniels (D-Va.) is a man with an eye for the angles. He accepted

free plane rides home from Beech Aircraft, a war supplier, and also billed the taxpayers for auto travel expenses for the trips. He says he's planning to repay the airplane folk.

Style dep't — According to an enthusiastic newspaper blurb, it's an "innovative, imaginative, curvaceous" desk clock. It seems to be shaped like an "R" and is available for \$2,200. If we had space on our desk for a clock, we'd check it out.

Philosophical — Hospitals are offering luxury suites featuring gourmet food, big-screen TV, and home furnishings, usually at about

\$550 a day. Stafford Jones checked into one at Baylor University Medical Center where the two-room suites feature dining areas furnished in rosewood. "I think it's a good trend," Jones opined. "There will always be people who drive Fords, and there will always be people who drive Cadillacs." Guess which he drives.

Really? — A study by Simmons Market Research disclosed that students from families with incomes over \$50,000 tend to hold summer jobs while students from families with incomes under \$15,000 are more likely to have school-year jobs as well as summer ones.

Haitians in U.S., Canada celebrate Baby Doc's fall

Continued from Page 7

drivers, marched through downtown Montreal, Saturday, February 1, when it became clear that the Duvalier regime's days were numbered. A meeting of more than 1,000 was held February 8 at St. Edward's Catholic Church to celebrate the overthrow of Duvalier and solidarize with the popular upheaval. The crowd thundered approval when speakers called for the total defeat of the Tontons Macoutes and warned against U.S. intervention. More meetings of this type were planned for the coming week.

Hundreds of Haitians congregated at the Haitian Community Center. They expressed overwhelming distrust of the new Haitian government. Center leader Paul Dejean told the Montreal daily *La Presse* that the new government was created and installed by the U.S. State Department against the will of the Haitian people. There was reason for optimism, however, Dejean concluded, because the Haitian people have risen up alone, unarmed, and have succeeded in ridding themselves of the disease of Duvalierism.

Members of the Montreal branch of the Revolutionary Workers League (a sister organization of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party) participated in the celebration and meeting and sold 600 copies of their paper, *Lutte Ouvrière*.

Miami

BY MATTHEW MUNRO

MIAMI — "The end of the Duvalier regime will mark the beginning of our struggle," said one of the leaders of Konbit Libete, a Haitian solidarity group, just one week before Duvalier's fall. As quickly as the news spread throughout little Haiti on Friday morning, February 7, people began to gather outside the Haitian Refugee Center to celebrate. Hundreds of people had gathered by sunrise and the crowd quickly swelled to several thousand. The celebration, which lasted to midnight, was also cause for intense discussions.

What will happen now in Haiti? How can its problems be solved? Who can the Haitian people look to for solidarity? These were the kind of questions people were raising.

One young Haitian was carrying a sign that said in French, "Down with Duvalier, down with Macoutes, down with the army, long live the people!" He explained to me that the U.S. government had supported Duvalier all along and had invested hundreds of millions in his dictatorship.

"We don't want any more help from the United States," he said. "Let them get rid of discrimination in the United States first before they tell the Haitian people how to get democracy in Haiti."

Not everyone in the crowd held this point of view. A T-shirt that said, "Let us and U.S. ring the freedom bell in Haiti," was popular with many demonstrators. Some of the people wearing them thought they could rely on the U.S. government for help.

Several people raised the slogan, "Close the Krome concentration camp." They were referring to the Krome Avenue Immigration and Naturalization Service deten-



Militant/Stu Singer
Morning of Duvalier's flight February 7, Miami Haitians held spontaneous rally outside Haitian Refugee Center.

tion center in Miami where many Haitians are being held.

One young man was urging U.S. citizens to ask Miami Mayor Xavier Suárez to release all the Haitian brothers and sisters from Krome now that Duvalier is gone.

A small minority took up a local right-wing campaign that tries to equate Duvalier with Castro.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who were selling the *Militant* and the *Young Socialist* got a good hearing for their ideas. They explained that nothing could be less true, that in fact Castro and Duvalier were the opposite. They discussed with many in the crowd the differences between the political systems in Cuba and in Haiti.

Two hundred fifty copies of the *Militant* and 150 copies of the *Young Socialist* were purchased by demonstrators during the weekend of celebrations. In addition, during the 10 days following the first rumor of Duvalier's fall, \$430 worth of socialist books, many in French, were sold.

Washington

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Over 100 Haitians demonstrated across the street from the U.S. State Department February 7 in support of the Haitian people and against U.S. intervention. The several-hours-long protest was joyous in mood, celebrating the downfall of the brutal U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship.

Demonstrators carried signs reading "No more Tontons Macoutes," "Long live the Haitian masses," "To those who died for Haiti — thanks," "Self-determination for Haiti," "Toussaint, Dessalines — It's 1804 all over again," (a reference to the leaders of the slave revolt against French rule that established Haiti's independence in 1804) and "No more monkey business in Haiti as the monkey's tail has been broken."

Chants included: No U.S. intervention in Haiti; Long live the Haitian revolution; Democracy yes — Dictatorship no; Down with the Tontons Macoutes; and Long live

Haiti!

The demonstration was organized by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of Haiti — a coalition of several Haitian community organizations, most of whose members are refugees.

A leader of the demonstration told me, "They're looking for a place to put 'Baby Doc' [Duvalier] now, and we're here to demand that there be no U.S. intervention against the Haitian people. They're looking for a place to put him and in a few years they'll probably make him a 'freedom fighter' for the U.S. government."

Boston

BY JON HILLSON

BOSTON — Joy swept this city's Haitian community with the news of the departure of so-called President-for-Life Jean-Claude Duvalier.

With the dictator's fall confirmed, 75 Haitian activists liberated the tyrant's consular offices in downtown Boston February 7. Chanting and cheering, they confronted the Duvalier-appointed diplomat. "This is our property now!" one demonstrator retorted to demands that they leave.

Before police came and arrested two celebrating Haitians, the offices had been stripped of Duvalier's portraits and other artifacts of the hated regime, and the dictator's flag had been burned.

That evening, hundreds of Haitians gathered for another celebration in St. Leo's Church in Dorchester. Chanting, crying, singing, and cheering marked the tumultuous event.

On February 8, three well-known Hai-

tian community leaders addressed the Militant Forum in Boston, in an event covered by the local ABC television affiliate.

The standing-room-only crowd heard Haiti Solidarity Committee (COSAH) leader Franz Minuty declare that the freedom struggle of the Haitian people "is not over, but is just beginning."

The governing council and cabinet left in the wake of Duvalier's flight was, Minuty said, "made in the USA," a government, with "few exceptions, of murderers and bastards."

Minuty later told the *Militant* that the challenges in front of Haitians living in the United States and the people of the country was to "continue to pressure to win a government committed to the people, not to the United States government."

"The monkey's tail has been cut," he said, referring to Duvalier, "but now we must cut the neck, the whole body."

Hoarse from speaking and celebrating, Serge Fouchant, also from COSAH, told the audience, "The people of Haiti and no one else will determine a real democratic government."

Boston Young Socialist Alliance member Bob DeBarge told the meeting that it is a "necessity for solidarity and antiwar activists to demand that the United States keep its hands off Haiti."

Nearly \$100 was raised for COSAH's ongoing work. The committee has scheduled a Saturday, February 15 protest at the Federal Building here in solidarity with the Haitian people's struggle.

On February 9, more than 1,500 Haitians jammed St. Leo's Church to overflow at a memorial mass for 50,000 countrymen killed during the reign of the two Duvaliers.

U.S. tour by British Labor Party activist to call for Irish freedom

A prominent leader of the wing of the British Labor Party that favors an immediate end to British rule in Northern Ireland will tour the United States in March.

Martin Collins, a member of the Labor Committee on Ireland and editor of its quarterly magazine, *Labor and Ireland*, will exchange experiences and views with figures in the U.S. labor movement and others who support the Irish freedom struggle.

Collins will also address public meetings, explaining the importance of Irish freedom for working people in Britain.

In 1985, Collins edited *Ireland After Britain*, a book of essays by leaders of the British Labor Party and Irish political figures who support Ireland's reunification.

His U.S. speaking tour will begin in Albany on March 14 and will take him to New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Birmingham, Alabama. He will meet with trade unionists, Black and Latino rights fighters, antiwar activists, supporters of abortion rights, and others.

The Labor Committee on Ireland is the largest organization in Britain actively working for an end to British rule in Northern Ireland. With two dozen chapters, it includes 14 members of the British parliament in its ranks.

The committee has organized campaigns against the strip-searching of women political prisoners in Armagh Jail in Northern Ireland, the use of the Prevention of Terrorism Act to curb civil liberties in Britain, anti-Irish racism, and the juryless Diplock Courts used against nationalist prisoners in Northern Ireland.

The committee has also brought leaders of Sinn Féin, the party in solidarity with the Irish Republican Army, to Britain to address gatherings at the Labor Party convention, trade union meetings, and meetings of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament.

In Collins' view, the Labor Party must decisively break from its traditional support for British rule in Northern Ireland.

Unless the Labor Party comes out strongly for British withdrawal from Ireland, he maintains, it will be unable to present a real alternative to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative Party policies.

During the year-long British coal miners' strike, Collins notes, the Thatcher government used repressive tactics against the miners that had first been perfected against Irish nationalists in the streets of Belfast and Derry.

Reagan's new attack on quotas

President Reagan used part of his February 11 news conference to seek support for his efforts to roll back federal affirmative action hiring programs for Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, other oppressed national minorities, and women.

Labor Department regulations, based on 1965 and 1968 executive orders, require companies with federal contracts to develop "specific goals and timetables for the prompt achievement of full and equal employment opportunity."

Reagan said administration officials were considering "how can we eliminate this possibility of a quota system."

Affirmative-action quotas for discriminated-against nationalities and women constituted "discrimination," Reagan argued. Eliminating them, he promised, is the road to a "colorblind society."

Getting rid of affirmative-action quotas means more racist and sexist discrimination, not less.

The regulations Reagan wants to change were won by the massive civil rights movement, which shattered the legal system of racist segregation and exclusion of Blacks that had dominated the South until then and had ramifications across the country.

Affirmative action quotas were a response to the fact that bosses will seek to get around any guideline for ending racist hiring and promotion practices that does not commit them to specific numbers.

Blacks, Latinos, and women continue to be targets of a pervasive system of racist and sexist discrimination. That is why the rate of unemployment among Blacks is consistently twice that of whites and why the average income of working women is only 61 percent of the average man's.

The "colorblind society" that Reagan seeks is one where the government could refuse to notice or do anything about such glaring facts.

Affirmative-action gains won by the civil rights movement, and extended in subsequent struggles, were a gain

for all working people. The employers had to increasingly integrate Blacks, Latinos, and women into industry. The most oppressed sections of the working class became somewhat less vulnerable to attack as the last hired, first fired, and least paid. The racist and sexist divisions imposed on the working class began to be undermined.

Blacks, Latinos, and women became an increasingly active part of the union movement and increased the unions' fighting potential.

The ruling capitalist class is now seeking to chip away at affirmative action. They want to strengthen racist and sexist discrimination as part of their attack on the living standards and democratic rights of working people.

But they disagree over how far and how fast to go in attacking affirmative action. They are also fearful of the resistance that their moves could inspire.

Although the administration announced in August that the affirmative-action regulations were to be gutted, Reagan said at his news conference that the issue "is still being studied."

While the U.S. Chamber of Commerce favors the changes, the National Association of Manufacturers has not endorsed them.

The Council of 100, an organization of Republicans who are Black that includes many businesspeople, said changing the regulations would be "harmful and dangerous" to Blacks. The National Black Republican Council warned Reagan that "the black community and other minorities and women" regard the attack on affirmative-action regulations as "an attempt to overturn" gains won by the civil rights movement.

A sweeping attack on affirmative action would encourage resistance from unions, Black organizations, women's organizations, and the millions of working people who benefit from blows that have been dealt to racist and sexist discrimination.

That is why victories won in gigantic working-class struggles, like affirmative action, cannot be easily turned back by the employers and their government.

'If you can't act like a union man, stand aside'

Local P-9 of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW) is engaged in a bitter struggle against the union-busting of Hormel and the state government.

In the middle of this battle, UFCW International President William Wynn launched two public attacks on the local's leadership even though the strike is sanctioned by the International union.

The attacks by Wynn have made it that much easier for the company management and rulers to press their offensive against P-9.

This is not the first time that a local has had to face a public attack from their union's International officials while in a determined battle against the bosses. In 1934,

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Teamsters Local 574 began a campaign to organize truck drivers and warehouse and loading dock workers in Minneapolis. In the course of this campaign, the bosses forced the local out on strike three times. During these strikes, the workers faced attacks from the bosses, the big-business press, the cops, and the National Guard.

As Local 574 was preparing the third strike, Teamsters International President Dan Tobin launched public attacks on the local. Tobin red-baiting and violence-baited the strike leaders.

Below are excerpts from the book *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs, a central leader of the 1934 strike. The excerpts include Tobin's attack and the local's response. The book is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. It costs \$5.95 (include \$75 for postage and handling).

* * *

At precisely this high point in the labor mobilization for struggle against the Citizens Alliance [organization of bosses], Tobin hurled a poisoned dart at Local 574. It struck in the form of editorials in the July 1934 issue of the official IBT magazine.

[Tobin] asserted: "No matter how much a few radicals in our union may rave about the laws of the International, let it be distinctly understood now, until our laws are changed, this International Union will not sanction a sympathetic strike, nor will it in any way, shape, or manner, approve the violation of a signed contract."

Really venting his spleen, Tobin wrote in the lead editorial: "We see from the newspapers that the infamous Dunn[e] Brothers . . . [strike leaders and leaders of the Communist League of America, forerunner of the Socialist Workers Party] were very prominent in the strike of Local No. 574 of Minneapolis. . . . All we can say to our people is to beware of these wolves in sheep clothing. . . . Never was there freedom in any country for the workers equal to that enjoyed by the workers of this country. That freedom is liable to be endangered by those semi-monsters who are creeping into our midst and getting into some of our newly organized local unions, creating distrust, discontent, bloodshed, and rebellion. The officers of local unions who do not guard themselves and their unions against a human monster of this kind are making a mistake."

What a propaganda package Tobin had handed to the bosses! Inside workers made "trouble" for truck drivers. Local 574's impending walkout, like the May strike, would obviously be deemed "in violation of all our laws." Other Teamster locals were warned against taking sympathetic action in support of the walkout. Radical "monsters" were blamed for the bloodshed in May, a truly monstrous statement that indicted the union in advance for whatever violence the bosses chose next to use against it. A purge of the Local 574 leadership was urged, and Tobin promised to help do the dirty job.

Eagerly grabbing this apostate's gift from the head of the IBT, the bosses republished Tobin's editorials as a paid ad in the *Minneapolis Daily Star* of July 7, 1934. It was then reproduced in leaflet form by the bosses for mass distribution among the workers. Ad and leaflet alike were headlined: "Communists and radicals in local unions, says President Tobin." Aided by this windfall from Tobin, the Citizens Alliance now went all out in its smear attack on the union.

[The members of Local 574 answered the bosses' attacks when they voted to strike. In the strike call, they also answered Tobin.]

"We say plainly to D.J. Tobin: If you can't act like a union man, and help us, instead of helping the bosses, then at least have the decency to stand aside and let us fight our battle alone. We did it in the organization campaign and in the previous strike, and we can do it again. We received absolutely no help of any kind from you. Our leadership and guidance has come from our local leaders and them alone. We put our confidence in them and will not support any attack on them under any circumstances."

Rail drug tests violate rights

In a new attack on the constitutional rights of working people, including the right to privacy, the federal government initiated a program February 11 under which 100,000 railroad workers are legally required to submit to drug tests by their employers.

The tests of breath, urine, and blood are being challenged by rail unions in federal court.

The decision to begin the testing program came in the wake of a Supreme Court decision granting a government request that execution of the program not be held up pending a decision on the issue. It is now being weighed by a federal appeals court.

The action for the tests was pressed by the Federal Railroad Administration. If not successfully challenged, it could be extended to airlines and other federally regulated transportation companies.

The drug tests are an easy means of singling out and

victimizing unionists and other workers in employer disfavor.

Employers have been steadily pushing for the right to administer such tests. One widely publicized move in this direction has been the pressure for athletes to submit to drug tests.

For rail workers, it is one more blow against their rights. Rail unions have been under steady attack in a drive on wages and working conditions. Tens of thousands of rail jobs have been eliminated, with the remaining workers blamed for resulting deterioration of services and safety conditions.

The way such tests can be used was summed up by rail union attorney Lawrence Mann:

"I'm sure there's a lot of overzealous supervisors. Come Monday, if they don't like a certain guy, they'll test him every chance they get."

Defend Farrakhan's rights

On January 16 the British government announced it was barring Louis Farrakhan from entering Britain. Farrakhan, who heads the Black nationalist Nation of Islam organization, had been asked to speak at a London meeting organized by the Black People's Association.

The violation of Farrakhan's rights escalated February 6. When Farrakhan arrived in London's Heathrow airport, on his way to Nigeria, British immigration officials removed him from the plane and interrogated him for several hours.

On February 9 the Nigerian government barred Farrakhan from giving a scheduled speech at the National Theater in the capital city of Lagos.

These are outrageous violations of the right to travel and speak, free of police harassment.

The British government claimed, according to the January 17 *New York Times*, that it was barring Farrakhan because of his anti-Semitic statements.

One likely reason for the British government's banning of Farrakhan was fear that Blacks would respond to his denunciations of racist oppression in the United States and Britain. The British rulers confront growing protests against racist discrimination and cop brutality.

The Black section of the British Labor Party denounced the ban. "We as Black people have a right to be heard and a right to dissent. Any tampering by government with these inalienable rights makes a mockery of claims about democracy."

The Black section further declared: "Farrakhan is reported to have made anti-Semitic statements. If such is the case, we make it absolutely clear we do not support them." But they ripped the hypocrisy of the British government which "has previously played host to Nazis like P.W. Botha, president of racist South Africa, and Ku Klux Klan leader Bill Wilkinson."

Farrakhan, who is based in Chicago, toured in the United States last year. His reactionary anti-Semitic statements were seized on by many capitalist politicians and the big-business media as a pretext for a reactionary, racist propaganda campaign against him and all Black people.

That campaign is continuing as Farrakhan travels to various countries.

Attacks on Farrakhan's rights do nothing to advance the struggle against anti-Semitism. Farrakhan is not the source of anti-Semitism in Britain or the United States. That poison originates in and is spread by the ruling capitalist classes of these countries.

They are making Farrakhan a scapegoat for their crimes, and at the same time attacking the democratic right of all working people to travel, speak, and hear the ideas of Louis Farrakhan or anybody else.

Fighters who seek to advance the struggle against racism and all forms of oppression must oppose and expose these attacks on the democratic rights of Louis Farrakhan.

Union democracy is strength of Hormel strike

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

The stakes in the strike by 1,500 members of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local P-9 are high. A victory for this embattled local would encourage other working people to fight back against company and government attacks on our living standards and rights. It would send a message that it is possible to fight union-busting and win. And it would provide a living example of how to win.

The bosses understand this and have been using the

AS I SEE IT

National Guard, courts, and big-business media to try to convince and pressure strikers and their supporters to give up. The vast majority, however, remain firm. In fact, as more working people find out about the strike, support is growing.

But some forces have begun to bend to the pressure. This was reflected in a full-page article in the February 6 issue of the *Daily World*, the newspaper that presents the views of the Communist Party. Bill Dennison wrote the article, which was titled, "The union is at stake at Hormel." It was presented as a "news analysis."

The article begins by warning readers that Hormel "is growing more vicious" in its attempt to break the strike. Dennison, however, goes on to repeat some of the slanderous charges against Local P-9 from the big-business press. These are the same charges which, unfortunately, have been echoed in public attacks on the local by UFCW International President William Wynn.

Dennison charges that P-9 is taking a "go it alone" approach. The local's struggle for a decent contract, he writes, disrupts the International union's "long-term strategy to raise the industry average" wage to \$10 per hour.

Dennison describes Hormel's contract offer, which P-9 has rejected, as one "that included more concessions but did bring workers up to the chain pattern of \$10 per hour."

"The workers," Dennison writes, "have been saying that money is not the main issue, although [Ray] Rogers [P-9's consultant] and CCI [Corporate Campaign Inc., Rogers' firm] are reported to have an agreement that includes a \$200,000 bonus should the workers win back the \$10.69 per hour rate."

The *Daily World* finds itself giving credence to the constantly repeated lie that the strike is a battle for \$.69 an hour. The *Daily World* finds itself joining the big-business media in attacking Rogers and the local, thus helping to undercut support for the strike.

But what are the facts?

Over the last several years, unionized meatpacking workers across the country have been forced to accept big cuts in wages. Along with wage cuts, these workers have had to accept a two-tier wage system and deteriorating working conditions.

The meatpacking bosses, in fact, have focused their

concession demands on working conditions. These conditions are so bad in the Austin plant that the injury rate is 202 injuries for every 100 workers.

Dennison doesn't describe the concessions in Hormel's contract offer. They include gutting the seniority and grievance systems, two-tier wages, and a contractual suspension of workers' democratic rights.

Although UFCW President Wynn has twice publicly attacked the strikers, Dennison charges that "the local leadership's attacks on the leadership of the UFCW has played into the hands of the corporation's union-busting strategy...."

In a short article on the same page as Dennison's, *Daily World* reporter Helen Kruth quotes one anonymous striker to try to back up Dennison's charges. "Our situation," the striker is quoted as saying, "is a mess." He claims, "Our tactics have been such that I think we have boxed ourselves into a corner. Any time," the nameless striker continues, "you bring experts from outside to do what the leadership of the union could do, you're going to cause a division, and you don't have a united policy against the company."

The *Daily World* believes that the strike, exactly when it is winning the broadest support nationwide, is a losing battle. It looks to blame the local's leadership and Ray Rogers for what it sees as an inevitable defeat.

But the thing that makes this strike so powerful is that every major decision by the local has been democratically discussed and voted on by the members. Local P-9's leadership organizes daily meetings for the members. In this way, strikers are kept fully informed of the latest developments. They can raise their ideas on how to strengthen the fight. And decisions on what to do next are made democratically.

The corporate campaign to pressure First Bank, one of Hormel's largest shareholders, is one of the many weapons the membership has decided to use to defend their union.

But far from a mess or a losing battle, the strike is an inspiring example for all working people. It demonstrates that when workers democratically control their unions, union power can be used to defend their interests. Workers can more effectively reach out and win support and solidarity from other working people.

It is the leadership that the members are giving the strike through democratic control of their union that is the strength of this battle.

This is why Local P-9 was able to get Hormel's plant in Ottumwa, Iowa, closed down. That is why the strikers are winning new support each day—including tens of thousands of dollars—from unionists across the country. And that is why P-9 is receiving active solidarity from working farmers and other fighters for social progress.

Finally, Dennison gives P-9 some advice on how to settle the strike. "Unity," he writes, "is necessary to compel Hormel to agree to a decent agreement... this unity includes local P-9, the international union, and the state and national AFL-CIO and Governor Perpich."

Dennison seems to have forgotten that Democratic



Militant Activists at Ottumwa solidarity march. Union democracy has made meatpackers' strike more effective in winning support from all working people.

Farmer-Labor Party Gov. Rudy Perpich was the one who sent the National Guard into Austin to herd scabs for Hormel. Dennison, in fact, never even mentions that the Guard was in Austin nor calls for its removal. To propose that P-9 unite with a strikebreaker is worse than ridiculous—it's a call to surrender.

As for unity within the labor movement, no group has more actively worked for it than Local P-9. For this reason, the strikers appealed to the UFCW International to sanction its roving pickets so that the Hormel chain could be closed down.

The meatpackers won the support of the Minnesota AFL-CIO at its last convention and have since sought more active support from that body. The strikers went to the AFL-CIO's International convention last year, distributing material on their strike to all the delegates.

Local P-9 has sought unity with all working people—trade unionists, other workers, working farmers, American Indians, Black and women's rights fighters, opponents of the U.S. war in Central America, and anti-apartheid activists.

Every working person—in the cities and the countryside, organized and unorganized—should come to the support of Local P-9. The battle in Austin is not over. Our solidarity can make the difference.

LETTERS

Omar Cabezas

Omar Cabezas, vice-minister of the Ministry of the Interior of Nicaragua, was the high point of the King Day celebration here in Seattle January 20.

More than 700 people attended the march and rally.

Cabezas said, "For us there is only one Martin Luther King. He was not just a Black man, not just a North American, but a fighter for all the oppressed around the world."

He said, "In Nicaragua we have accomplished his dream and made it reality."

The rally was followed by a march down Martin Luther King, Jr., Way with chants against U.S. support for apartheid, racism in the United States, and against the embargo of Nicaragua.

Cabezas had hoped to address the statewide rally of 3,000 in Olympia, but the invited military guests objected to his presence on the program.

Tim Mailhot
Seattle, Washington

Old issue

I found an old issue of your informative newspaper. I'm currently incarcerated in San Quentin, and I would like information about subscribing to the *Militant*.
A prisoner
San Quentin, California

U.S. threats to Iran

U.S. warships have begun "escorting" all U.S. merchant ships in the Persian Gulf. This came in response to the Iranian Navy boarding the USS *President Tyler*, bound for Iraq.

Although all reports indicate that the Iranian forces conducted themselves in a very disciplined and businesslike manner, releasing the ship after determining no arms were aboard, the imperialists have taken this aggressive step and threaten to open fire on any Iranian Navy ships approaching U.S. ships in the Gulf.

Despite the fact that this is less publicized than the U.S. threats against Libya, this is a serious move in the U.S. government's continuing hostilities toward Iran.

I was disappointed to see no coverage of these events in the *Militant*. It is important to get the truth to working people. Certainly a country that waged such a heroic struggle against imperialist domination, overthrowing the shah in 1979; and that has been subject to such an intense, racist, propaganda barrage in the imperialist media deserves more attention in the pages of the *Militant*.

Over the past few months, the Iranian newspaper, *Kayhan Air-mail* has reported parliamentary debates on landlordism, economic sabotage by the capitalists, and their effect on the people and the war effort. It reported on a Dec.

21, 1985, march by tens of thousands of peasants in the province of Maazandaran demanding a "solution" for 150,000 hectares of arable land. On January 11, the Iranian defense minister announced that Iran would provide the support of the Iranian military to Libyan forces in confronting the U.S. threat. Each issue of *Kayhan* reports several major battles in the Iran-Iraq war. The January 15 edition reports the agreement of West German companies to supply Iraq with equipment to manufacture chemical weapons.

A reader
Detroit, Michigan

'Jim Crow'

I would like to suggest that the *Militant* take a look at its use of the term "Jim Crow." For example, as in the editorial marking the first King holiday.

In Pittsburgh, we had a forum on civil rights that weekend, and the term Jim Crow was used to describe the system of legal segregation in the South.

A young Black man at the forum, about 20 or so, said during the discussion that he had never in his life heard the term Jim Crow. An older man, a retired mill worker, said that he was familiar with it, but hadn't heard it used in years.

I think we should recognize that, useful a term as it might be, Jim Crow is now something that

belongs to history. Both politically and in speech. We should use it as a historical term, one that requires a definition each time we use it.

Most importantly, we should not assume that it is something that this generation of antiracist fighters is familiar with.

Michael Pennock
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Thank you

Basically, I thank you and your staff for having such a cooperative system, so that brothers throughout the nation can be participants.

The brothers on this unit, who are in the middle of the struggle for rights, all say, "Thank you, *Militant*," for providing the topic of Winnie Mandela and her courageous husband Nelson and family.

We brothers of the Eastern Unit Texas Department of Corrections understand, individually we do share a special kind of love for you. Keep on fighting.

A prisoner
Lovelady, Texas

Greatly appreciated

I will be paroling March 30, 1986. I've greatly appreciated receiving your most informative publication and will most definitely contribute to your Prisoners Subscription Fund, as well as subscribing to your publication.

I'm wondering, is it possible to transfer the remaining time on my

subscription to my comrade who will be here after I'm gone?

A prisoner
Represa, California

Correction

In the article, "Auto workers hit hard by rulers' worldwide anti-labor drive" on page 11 of the February 14 issue, in the section headed "Crisis affects entire working class," Andrew Pulley was misquoted due to a typographical error.

He stated: "Our perspective is for the working class to think socially and act politically. That is what will make it possible to transform the unions into revolutionary organizations that fight for the political, social, and economic interests of the whole working class. It is along those lines that labor's next giant step, the formation of a labor party, will come about."

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: *Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

End frame-up of Ramona Africa!

Victim of racist bombing faces 14 years

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

PHILADELPHIA — On February 9 a jury found MOVE member Ramona Africa not guilty of charges of assault, resisting arrest, and recklessly endangering the lives of others. The jury did convict her, however, of criminal conspiracy and riot in a trial stemming from the May 1985 police bombing of a Black neighborhood in this city.

Africa faces up to 14 years in prison if her conviction is not overturned on appeal. Sentencing is set for April 14.

On May 13 police dropped a bomb on the home of the Black organization MOVE. Eleven people were killed — five of them children. The ensuing fire destroyed 61 homes. More than 250 people lost everything they had in the blaze.

The rulers of Philadelphia had hoped to make an example of MOVE because its members were Black, took the name Africa, wore dreadlocks, and defied the authorities' demands for conformity and obedience.

At the time of the bombing, MOVE was carrying out a political campaign to free its members who were framed up and jailed for defending themselves from a 1978 attack by the Philadelphia police.

Ramona Africa and 13-year-old Michael Africa were the only survivors of the racist bombing. She is on trial because some cops were injured in the attack. She has been in jail since then with bail set at over \$1.9 million.

Thirty-year-old Africa conducted her own defense in the five-week trial. She summoned Mayor Wilson Goode and former Police Commissioner Gregore Sambor to the stand to question them about their role in the bombing of the MOVE house.

Africa maintained that it was the city administration that should be put on trial. "It seems to me that every charge against me fits the police. They fired 10,000 shots, set the house on fire where me and my family were, and killed my brothers and sisters," Africa told the court.

During the trial, Africa interrogated the former police commissioner about his role in the MOVE bombing. Did he come "to arrest me or drop a bomb on my family?" she asked. He responded, "I was out there to serve legally issued warrants."

"Were you concerned about the people in the house?" she asked Mayor Goode on the stand. He cynically responded, "We in fact took every precaution to make sure the people were not hurt."

Africa told the judge, "The only thing I'm guilty of is hiding in the basement, trying to protect my children, MOVE children."

"Nobody was supposed to survive," she added.

Ramona Africa's trial began soon after the close of five weeks of televised hearings into the May police bombing. The hearings helped confirm that Mayor Goode and other city officials had consciously organized the slaughter of members of MOVE.

Asked for her reaction to the verdict, Africa replied, "If it [the legal system] was fair, I wouldn't have been here."

The trial of Ramona Africa comes in the wake of racist mobilizations against open housing here that made national news. In November and December, southwest Philadelphia was the scene of mob violence and arson against two Black families.

For three hours on the night of

November 20, a mob of 400 racists laid siege to the home of Charles Williams and Marietta Bloxom, a Black family in the southwest Philadelphia area. A handful of plainclothes and uniformed cops dispatched to the scene did nothing to break up the mob and made no arrests.

The next night the racists renewed their illegal assault, this time at the nearby home of Gerald and Carol Fox. Chanting as they had the night before, "Move, nigger!" and "We want them out!" more than 200 racists massed outside the family's home. City Managing Director James White and the city police commissioner were on the scene. Still, the police did nothing.

Then, on December 12, as police stood out front, the home of Williams and Bloxom was burned to the ground by four racists.

To this day, the city administration has not arrested any of the racists for their violation of fair housing laws.

Public outrage finally forced the federal government to step in. The FBI arrested the four arsonists.

The February 15 National Mobilization Against Racism here can help apply pressure on the Goode administration to stop the legal lynching of Ramona Africa and to arrest those responsible for carrying out the attacks against the Black families.



Militant

May 25, 1985, protest of cop bombing of MOVE house. Actions like this and February 15 march against racism in Philadelphia can help bring justice to victims of racism.

Eastern demands new takebacks

BY STU SINGER

MIAMI — On January 27 District 100 International Association of Machinists (IAM) officials called a public meeting to present the union leadership's response to Eastern Airlines' (EAL) demands for new wage and benefit cuts. Even though the IAM contract doesn't expire until 1987, EAL is demanding an agreement from the union by February 28 that they accept the 20 percent cuts.

The meeting was attended by workers from the three unions at EAL: the IAM, Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA), and flight attendants organized by the Transport Workers Union (TWU). Also attending were radio, TV, and newspaper reporters; members of the community; and probably Eastern management representatives. As a result, the proposals made to the meeting by IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan have been widely discussed inside and outside the union movement.

Bryan reported on a plan that called on union and nonunion airline workers to purchase EAL stock. He pointed out that if they all bought up to \$3,000 worth of stock, it could give friends of the union and union members on the board of directors the power to change Eastern Airlines' management to one that was easier to deal with. Literature put out by Bryan says that if the present management demanding cuts were removed, their replacements would operate in a "more efficient, profitable, and humane way."

The union leadership's proposal is in response to a three-point EAL management plan presented by company head and ex-Air Force Colonel Frank Borman: 1. slash wages and benefits over 20 percent; 2. speed up — get more work done by fewer people; 3. divide the workers through different pay tiers and longer probation.

The company says it is in a financial crisis because of competition from low-cost, nonunion airlines like People Express.

Bryan is one of three union representatives who have been on the EAL board of directors for two years. Union members

bought those seats with earlier concessions to the company. These included all airline workers in the three unions taking an 18 percent pay cut for all of 1984. EAL also illegally deducted 18 percent from flight attendants' wages during 1985. The TWU has filed a legal suit trying to get the workers' money back. This transferred \$360 million out of our wages and into the coffers of the banks and other financial institutions who control Eastern Airlines.

Bryan's stock-buying proposal is not meant as a joke. IAM Local 702, right across the street from EAL hangars, now includes an office of Merrill Lynch, one of the largest stock brokerage companies in the United States.

I went there the other day. A couple of guys in gray suits explained how to roll over your IRA (Individual Retirement Account) investment to buy stock. Unfortunately

I don't have an IRA and if I had the money for one — \$2,000 minimum — I could think of better things to do with it.

At the January 27 meeting I spoke against the stock purchase plan and called for solidarity with the Hormel strikers in Austin, Minnesota. I argued that we had to organize to fight Eastern's cutbacks the way Hormel workers are. A few others spoke out in a similar way. Because it was a public meeting, some of what I said in solidarity with Hormel workers and in opposition to the stock plan got printed in the *Miami News* and was reported on the radio.

Charles Bryan responded to these proposals, saying we should use our money to buy Eastern stocks, not contribute to a strike in Minnesota. He also put down the idea of organizing the membership for a possible strike against Eastern's cutbacks.

Continued on Page 15

Black women organize for abortion rights action

BY PAT WRIGHT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — "I have the right to live. I have the right to an education. I have the right to food. I have the right to a good, high quality standard of living. I have the right to more than just exist. I have the right to control my reproduction."

So began Ballye Avery, founder and director of the National Black Women's Health Project, in her keynote address to a one-day conference on reproductive rights in the Black community held here February 8.

The forum was cosponsored by the International Council of African Women, the National Black Women's Health Project, the National Organization for Women (NOW), and the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR).

Judy Logan-White of the Women of Color Partnership Project of RCAR welcomed close to 100 women, predominantly Black, saying, "The crisis is here, and it's time for us to stand up and address the issues head on." She said that while Black women have been deeply affected by questions of abortion rights and reproductive freedom, we have not always been vocal on the issue. The forum, she said, was the first in a series aimed at developing a stronger role for Black women in the fight for reproductive rights.

The forum was also held to build the March 9 abortion rights demonstration in Washington, D.C. She urged everyone to join and build the march because "our lives are at stake. We must not be forced to breed like cattle, like we were during slavery."

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